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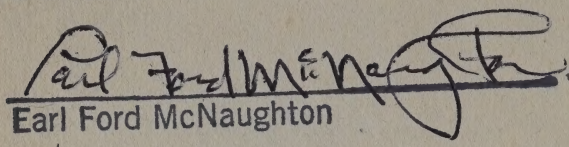

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NOTICE.

Those Subscribers to the North American Review, who have not received the Numbers (XLVI and XLVII) for January and April, 1825, are informed, that new editions of those numbers are completed.

Reprints of the *Old Series* have also been executed, and full sets, both of the *Old* and the *New Series*, can now be supplied; and also single copies of any number from the beginning of the work.

CONTENTS

OF

No. L.

NEW SERIES, NO. XXV.

ART. PAGE.

I. AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS 1
Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, for promoting useful Knowledge. Vol. II. New Series.

II. HILLHOUSE'S HADAD 13
Hadad, a Dramatic Poem. By James A. Hillhouse.

III. GREENLEAF'S REPORTS 27
Reports of Cases, argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of the State of Maine. By Simon Greenleaf.

IV. DEMOSTHENES 34
Demosthenis Opera, ad Optimorum Librorum Fidem accurate Edita.

V. INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA 53
1. Manners and Customs of several Indian Tribes, located west of the Mississippi, including some Account of the Soil, Climate, and vegetable Productions; and the Indian Materia Medica; to which is prefixed the History of the Author's Life, during a Residence of several Years among them. By John D. Hunter.
2. Historical Notes respecting the Indians of North America, with Remarks on the Attempts made to convert and civilise them. By John Halkett, Esq.

VI. HARLAN'S FAUNA AMERICANA 120
Fauna Americana; being a Description of the Mammiferous Animals inhabiting North America. By Richard Harlan.

VII. CLAIMS FOR FRENCH SPOLIATIONS 136
Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, of the House of Representatives of the United States, to which were referred the Memorials of certain Merchants, praying Relief for Losses sustained by French Spoliations. 1824.

VIII. Alliance of the Southern Republics 162
Ensayo sobre la Necesidad de una Federacion Jeneral entre los Estados Hispano-Americanos, y Plan de su Organizacion. Por Monteagudo. Lima. 1825.

IX. Memoir of Josiah Quincy Junior 176
Memoir of Josiah Quincy Junior, of Massachusetts. By his Son, Josiah Quincy.

X. Critical Notices . . . . . .
1. Mellen's Ode for the Celebration of the Battle of Bunker Hill 209
2. Ingersoll's Discourse before the Society for the Commemoration of the Landing of William Penn 212
3. Adam's Annals of Portsmouth 215
4. History of the United States 219
5. Gadsden's Discourse on the occasion of the Decease of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney . 222
6. Gales & Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress 224
7. Sewall's Medical Lecture at the Opening of the Medical Department of the Columbian College 225
8. Miller's Discourse before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New Jersey 226
9. Staples's Spanish Grammar 227
10. Gould's Edition of Adam's Latin Grammar . 228

Quarterly List of New Publications 235

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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NEW SERIES, NO. XXV.

JANUARY, 1826.

ART. I.—*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, for promoting useful Knowledge.* Vol. II. New Series. A. Small. Philadelphia. 4to. pp. 503.

THE American Philosophical Society was instituted at Philadelphia, about eighty years ago, chiefly through the instrumentality of Dr Franklin. The elevated genius and ardent love of knowledge, which were among the rare traits of this great philosopher and statesman, impelled him by all practicable means not only to discover, but to communicate truth, not only to develope the principles of nature and the laws of social intercourse, but to make his acquisitions useful to the greatest possible extent. Franklin was truly the friend of his species, and believed no labor without its reward, which taught men the art of understanding and improving their condition, or, in other words, the art of securing their independence, prosperity, and happiness, by their own exertions. All his researches in physical science, politics, morals, and the economy of life, aim at utility; he employed philosophy as an instrument of good to mankind, and converted knowledge to its proper ends. In these intellectual habits of Franklin originated the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.

For several years the Society was little more, than an association of scientific gentlemen, for the purpose of aiding one another in their pursuits by conversation and concert. The meetings of the Society were also frequently interrupted

during the revolutionary war. But the activity of its members did not cease, and their labors have been recorded in successive volumes of Transactions. In the present article our attention is drawn to the volume last published, being the eighth from the beginning, and the second of the new series. The Society ranks among its numbers some of the most distinguished men of letters and science in this country and in Europe, and many of the contributions to its Transactions are from high sources. The meetings are held in a handsome and commodious building in Philadelphia, which belongs to the Society, and which contains a library of about six thousand volumes, and various specimens of natural history. The catalogue of this library, formed under the immediate direction of Mr Duponceau, is one of the best, in the methodical and philosophical principles of its arrangement, that we have ever seen. The original purpose of the Society was the cultivation of the physical and exact sciences, and to this it was long confined. The plan has recently been enlarged, by embracing history, moral science, and general literature. The standing committee, appointed for this department, published six years ago a separate volume, with encouragement that another would in due time appear. We hope the time will soon arrive. This new department reaches to so wide a compass of interesting inquiry, that it cannot fail to enlist more able minds in the cause of the Society, and thereby increase its dignity and extend its usefulness. The presidents have been successively, Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse, Thomas Jefferson, Caspar Wistar, Robert Patterson, and William Tilghman, the present distinguished Chief Justice of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

This Society, not more on account of its antiquity and the high character of its members, than of its objects and its past labors, justly claims the respect of all lovers of science, and friends of improvement in this country. Amidst the numerous societies, which are almost daily shooting up around us, with pompous titles and long lists of officers, with constitutions, and bylaws, and boasts of great projects in hand, but which sink away and go out of sight, after a little vain bustling on the part of a few zealous candidates for the offices at the next election, when their names may appear at full length as part of the news of the day, or perhaps at the bottom of

a report detailing with great formality, what the society intends to do; we say, in the midst of all this empty parade and pretence, it is with sincere pleasure that we can look up to the Philosophical Society, and the Academy of Natural Sciences, in Philadelphia, as institutions creditable to themselves and the country, by the dignity of their objects, and by the steady and substantial efforts with which these objects are prosecuted. A very few others may be entitled to a similar preference, but the number is exceedingly small. We could wish, indeed, that our own American Academy, whose doings have been so laudable in years gone by, would more frequently give other tokens of its existence, than the annual list of new members published in the newspapers. We do not object to literary and scientific associations; on the contrary, we believe they may be made the means of vast improvement to individuals and to the community; but we confess that we have no patience with the growing fashion of building up these associations, and enlarging them, merely for a noise and a puff, as a convenient mode by which a number of persons may keep each other in countenance in making pretensions, which, singly, they would never dare to make, and which, under no circumstances, can they ever realise. The whole business is arrant quackery, and although it breaks no bones, nor administers any poison, yet it deceives the public, and as far as any effect is produced, it is to bring literature and science into disrepute.

The present volume of Transactions contains several important papers, some of which are so purely scientific, that we should fail in any attempt to analyse them, were such an analysis within the scope of our journal. Three or four may be selected, however, on which we trust a few observations will not be unacceptable to our general readers. The paper by Dr Drake, containing a *Geological Account of the Valley of the Ohio*, is curious not more for its facts, than for the ingenious speculations of the author, in attempting to account for certain geological phenomena in the western country. His paper is accompanied with a profile of the valley of the Ohio, running transversely across the river at Cincinnati, and indicating the alluvial formations on each bank of the river at that place.

The banks of the Ohio, like those of the Connecticut, and in fact we believe of most of our rivers, are composed of two or three platforms, or distinct plains, rising one above another by elevations varying from ten to fifty feet. These platforms are alluvial, extending from hill to hill across the valley through which the river finds its passage, and have evidently been deposited at some former period by the waters of the river. But it is common for the highest platform, or that bordering on the mountainous or hilly formation, to be sixty, eighty, and even a hundred feet above the highest level to which the river now rises. The necessary result is, that the quantity of water which flowed in the river, when these deposits were made, was such as to fill the whole valley to that elevation, and as the water for some cause became diminished in quantity, it gathered itself into a narrower channel, and left the dry soil on its margin. One of the most singular circumstances attending this diminution of the water, is, that it seems to have been done at certain periods, and thus to have formed the regular succession of ascents and plains mentioned above. Had the subsiding of the water been uniform, the surface of the deposit would now be a gradual slope, from the base of the hills to the margin of the river. As these platforms and ascents are commonly two or three in number, on the borders of the large rivers east and north of the Mississippi, and we suppose of the Rocky Mountains, it is reasonable to refer them all to a cause acting at the same time, and to draw the conclusion, that the northern continent of America has at two or three particular seasons undergone signal revolutions, either by internal convulsions, or by the sinking of a large extent of country now occupied by the Atlantic Ocean, and thus leaving a space to be filled by the waters of the valleys, which have since dwindled into comparatively small streams. There is a difficulty, however, about the whole matter, when we ask how these immense rivers were supplied in former times, since, by the ordinary process of nature in evaporation, rains, and internal circulation, no more water is produced than enough to sustain the rivers in their present diminished channels.

Dr Drake does not puzzle himself, nor his readers, with speculations on these general bearings of the subject, but his investigations are chiefly confined to the valley of the Ohio.

He first inquires into the cause of the great excavation through which this river runs, and gives it as his opinion, that this broad valley, as well as that of the Mississippi, was originally caused by the sinking of a region now covered by the Gulf of Mexico, and thus giving a southerly current to the waters, which before that time overspread the regions at the north. In this way the great valleys were formed by the strong currents and perpetual abrasion of the waters. Another mode of accounting for the same thing would be to suppose, that the elevations and depressions of the surface, or the mountains and valleys, were produced by some violent convulsion within, and that the waters sought a passage in the most depressed parts. From various geological appearances Dr Drake thinks it quite certain, that such could not have been the origin of the great valleys and elevations of the west, although he allows that on the south of the Ohio river, in some parts of Kentucky, there are *ravines* and abrupt eminences, which indicate the action of some violent cause beneath. In modern times the river has become contracted in width, and the bed of its channel deepened. This channel is now worn many feet below the bottom of the alluvial deposits on its margin. It is continually increasing in depth, though Dr Drake says very slowly, as the current at the bottom of the river is always much less rapid than at the surface, except at the time of floods or freshets. This is easily ascertained in the summer season, when the water of the river is clear, and the bottom can be distinctly seen. Accumulations of light particles are found resting there, when the current at the surface is so strong, as instantly to carry away much heavier substances. It follows that the attrition of the water at the bottom is much less, than would be apprehended from its velocity above, and that the process of deepening the channel is extremely slow.

Dr Drake accounts for some remarkable geological appearances in the western country in a manner so curious and plausable, that we shall present his views in his own language. After describing the gravelly substances, or *debris*, which occur in the regions of the Ohio river, and which are found of a similar composition and character, as he says, all over the western and northern parts of the United States, he proceeds as follows.

'We are hence, I think, justified in the conclusion, that its origin was in the north, and that it was brought and deposited on the surface of this country by currents, which in ancient times flowed from beyond the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and of which it may be regarded as the sign and the effect.

'A more recent formation, than many of the alluvial beds contained within the limits just defined, is the stratum of loam spread over the surface of our hills and valleys in an *overlaying* position. This appears to be the same, that in the north of Europe is denominated *geest*, and which Mr De Luc considers as the last deposit made by the sea before its final retreat.' 'The deposition of the *geest* seems to have been the last operation, which the waters of the north performed upon this region, and was of course subsequent to the excavation of the valleys, as no deposit could have remained upon their acclivities, while the agent which formed them continued its action. To this formation belong the great blocks of foreign primitive transition, and old floetz rocks, which have excited in travellers so much astonishment, and which, in one point of resemblance at least, approximate the region south of Erie, Huron, Michigan, and other lakes, so closely to that which stretches from the southern shores of the Baltic Sea.

'These masses in the neighborhood of this place, [Cincinnati,] are for the most part solitary, but in the interior of the State it is not uncommon to find them grouped into heaps, which are slightly covered with soil; and it is, I suspect, an aggregation of this kind, on one of the Islands of Lake Huron, that a British officer mistook for granite *in place*. The size of these masses extends from that of gravel and pebbles to the diameter of eight or ten feet. The larger blocks are frequently found *upon* the old alluvial plains, but never, that I have understood, *within* them. Their geographical range is over the same region with the smaller foreign *debris* of our valleys, but more limited to the south west. I have never seen a single block on the opposite side of the Ohio, and am not informed that any have been observed lower than the thirtyninth degree of latitude.

'I do not entertain a doubt, that these fragments were enveloped in large fields of ice in a region far beyond the Lakes, and floated hither by the same inundations, that brought down and spread over the surface of this country the *geest* in which they are imbedded. In the southern parts of this formation they are not found; but this should be attributed to the influence of the climate. The ice, to which they were attached, could not of course pass a certain latitude; and from the great increase of these masses as we advance towards the north, it would seem that many of the icebergs suffered dissolution long before they arrived at this *maximum*. Future

observers will no doubt trace them to their parent strata in the arctic regions, as Von Buck has traced those, which are lodged on the shores of the Baltic. The ice islands of the Atlantic ocean may reasonably be supposed to bring down, and deposit on its bed in the Temperate zone, primordial masses similar to those spread over some parts of this and the European continent. These islands are, I believe, not often seen further south than the fortyfirst degree, near two degrees north of their southern boundary here. This is probably attributable to the Gulf Stream; but for which, the larger tracts of ice would undoubtedly attain as low a latitude as the southern limits of the primitive blocks in this country; and hence a probable conclusion may be drawn, that the temperature of the northern hemisphere has undergone but little change, since the remote epoch when this part of the continent was for the last time subjected to inundation.'

From these facts, and this mode of reasoning, it would seem, that at some former period the ocean flowed over this continent with a current setting from north to south, and that the present features of the earth's surface in these regions have taken their shape and character from the action of this cause. Mr Hayden has pursued the same inquiry, in regard to the rivers and soil on the Atlantic coast, and has come to the same result. The only additional proof, now required, is that mentioned by Dr Drake as having been applied by Von Buck. Let it be established, by observation, that the rocky fragments, deposited throughout the alluvial formation of this country, are of precisely the same kind as the primitive masses in the polar regions of the American continent, and the demonstration will approach a degree of certainty, which will be satisfactory to most minds.

The fifth article in the volume is one of a good deal of interest and value. It contains a series of observations, by Mr John Hamilton, on the *Winds, Currents, the Gulf Stream, and the Temperature of the Air and Water in the North Atlantic Ocean.* The tables are skilfully constructed, and the observations carry with them every appearance of accuracy. These latter were made during twentysix voyages across the Atlantic, chiefly between Philadelphia and Liverpool. It was Mr Hamilton's object to ascertain, whether any substantial results could be derived from a course of observations of this sort, which should be of uniform and permanent advantage to navigators. In summing up the

matter, however, he seems not to be very sanguine, although he clearly shows, that a methodical use of the thermometer, in determining the temperature of the water, will enable the mariner infallibly to tell, after a little practice, when he is in a current, or on soundings. He says that currents at sea are usually from two to four degrees warmer, than the water out of the current. On soundings the water is always warmer than off, although the temperature varies more than in currents, as it depends much on the depth of the water, and the position of the coast. Along the American shore the difference of temperature varies also with the seasons, it being less in summer than in the other seasons.

In navigating the Gulf Stream the thermometer is of essential use. The difference between the temperature on the north side of this current and the sea out of it averages ten degrees; on the south side it is not so much, but never less than five degrees. In summer it is less than in winter. By knowing these data, and by using the thermometer three or four times a day, the navigator may always determine when he enters the Gulf Stream. It is not easy to define the exact limits of this stream, because it is more or less affected by the winds; and after it passes the Grand Bank of Newfoundland it is divided into several branches, the main current proceeding to the south east, and the others to the east and north east. There are counter currents on each side of the Gulf Stream, but Mr Hamilton thinks the temperature of these not to be perceptibly different from that of the stream itself. The thermometer, therefore, will not indicate the counter currents; but this is not of much moment, compared with the great utility of the instrument in determining the presence of the stream itself, which, on account of the variableness of the current produced by winds and other causes, is not easy to be ascertained by any mode of calculation. Mr Hamilton says, that many navigators who profess to use the thermometer, profit little by it, because they do not begin their observations till they suppose themselves approaching the Gulf Stream, or soundings, and then, if it happens that they have entered either, the temperature is changed from that of the ocean, and they have no means of an accurate comparison. To be of any use, the observations should be daily, and regular. Were every experienced and intelligent navigator to take the pains,

which Mr Hamilton has done in forming his tables, we doubt not that a series of facts would be collected, which would greatly facilitate the navigation not only of the Atlantic Ocean, but of other parts of the world.

We have next in order a very long paper on the *Survey of the Coast of the United States*, by Mr Hassler, making nearly one half of the volume. The singular result of the efforts of the government to survey the coast of the United States, has been a source of serious regret to many, and of wonder to all, who have known anything of the subject. How many thousands have been expended in purchasing instruments, retaining engineers, forming splendid projects, and preparing for great undertakings, we shall forbear to inquire. It is well known, that no visible thing has been done, and that we yet labor under the disgrace of being obliged to resort to the British charts of our coast, as the best that have been made. Holland's Charts, published in England, at the commencement of the Revolution, or copies from them, are still the guides to our seamen, when they would ensure accuracy and safety. The soundings are corrected in Blunt's charts, but the topographical delineations are nowhere executed with so much fidelity as in the old English surveys; and even in the late war, the inhabitants of the coast were frequently surprised at seeing the British vessels of large size sailing boldly into passages and inlets, where no American had ever ventured with the lightest coasting craft. Nothing would contribute more to the success and security of our commerce, than a thorough and minute survey of the coast; on nothing could public money be more profitably, or creditably, expended; and at no time can it be done with more ease and convenience, than at the present. To defer it longer is but to perpetuate the reproach, which past neglect has so justly drawn upon the nation. Much might be said on this subject, in relation to what has been attempted heretofore, to the projects that were in contemplation, and to the history and fate of the elegant and costly instruments, which were procured in Europe, but which are now neglected and useless.

There is a memoir in the volume, written in French, by Mr Jules de Wallenstein, containing an account of *Meteorological Observations* made by him at Washington, during the

space of one year, from April 1823 to April 1824. Tables of results are also added to the memoir. Whether we regard the accuracy of the instruments, or the scientific skill of the author in using them, we presume Mr de Wallenstein's observations may justly be ranked among the best, which have been made in this country. His instruments were selected by himself in Europe, and constructed by the most eminent artists. They form a complete apparatus for observing the temperature, pressure, and moisture and dryness of the atmosphere. He begins his paper by describing these instruments, and his mode of using them. His barometer was constructed by Fortin, on the most approved principles, and was of the same kind as that employed in the Royal Observatory in Paris; his hygrometer was on the plan of Saussure; he had two thermometers by Lerebours and Fortin, and one by Troughton with Farenheit's scale. These are all briefly described.

The author's most curious remarks are those on the *horary variations* of the barometer. He gives a concise view of this interesting subject, as it has been treated by Humboldt, Godin, La Condamine, and others. It is not of a nature to be discussed in this place, but we agree with Mr de Wallenstein, that it well deserves the attention of philosophers, and of those who travel for improvement in natural science. He thinks these variations of the barometer are in some way linked with other appearances, the causes of which are yet among the secret things of nature, and supposes it probable, that 'good observations on the periodical variations of the magnetic needle, electricity, and the barometer, made by such men as Humboldt, La Condamine, Mutis, and Buch, might lead to the discovery that there is some connexion between these phenomena, or at least that one may be explained by another.' Whatever may be thought of this suggestion, it must be confessed, that these topics offer a wide and unexplored field for philosophical research. It will be at once perceived, that the influence of such discoveries must be very great, when it is considered how universal are these phenomena and their causes, and how completely they pervade all parts of physical nature. Nor does the progress of these discoveries seem so difficult, as might at first be imagined, since, as the author remarks, Mutis has already ascer-

tained a connexion between the horary variations of the barometer and the conjunctions and oppositions of the Moon, and La Place has calculated the influence, which the Sun and Moon may exercise on our atmosphere.

Mr de Wallenstein holds a high station in the Russian embassy to this country, and we will not conceal, that it is gratifying to our national feelings, that a gentleman of his character and qualifications, not more distinguished by his great and varied attainments, than by the urbanity of his manners, should take so lively an interest in the advancement of science among us, as well as in the history and progress of our institutions.

The last paper we shall notice is that on the *Language of the Berbers*, which is curious for the novelty of its facts, and its historical hints. It contains two parts; first, a short dissertation by that profound philologist, Mr Duponceau; and, secondly, letters to this gentleman from Mr Shaler, Consul General of the United States at Algiers. 'The Berbers,' says Mr Duponceau, 'are a white race of men, who inhabit the chain of Mount Atlas, and extend to the borders of the desert of Sahara. To the north of them are the Bedouin Arabs, and still farther north are the Moors, whose dominions line the south western coast of the Mediterranean. The country of the Berbers is considered as included within those dominions, but the Moorish governments have not yet succeeded, nor probably ever will succeed, in reducing these tribes to a state of complete subjection.' From recent observations it has been supposed, that these people speak an original language, peculiar to itself in its construction and idiom, and that dialects of the same language prevail quite across the northern regions of Africa, from the Cape de Verd Islands almost to the Red Sea. Mr Marsden, and some other writers, have been of opinion, that the Berber language is a remnant of the old Punic. Vater considers it the Numidian, corrupted by an intermixture of Arabic, and other idioms. Mr Duponceau is decidedly against the Punic origin, and is disposed to wait for further information, before he forms an opinion in regard to the other theory. Mr Shaler's communications throw some light on the subject. This gentleman inclines to the belief, that the language is an original one. We quote below an extract from

one of his letters. The *Kabyles*, of whom he speaks, are a race of Berbers, residing on the southern borders of Algiers and Tunis.

'The Kabyles of north Africa,' says Mr Shaler, 'are a white people; they invariably inhabit the mountains, where they maintain their independence, and probably have never been completely subjected by any of the conquerors, who have at different periods overrun this country. Each mountain usually forms an independent state, and they are often engaged in petty wars with each other, which are fomented by the Turks, who thereby sometimes succeed in extorting from them a precarious tribute; but since the days of Barbarossa, although some may have been exterminated, none have been entirely subjected to Turkish domination. Although the Kabyles are a very ingenious people, with the most tractable and social dispositions, they have not the commercial propensities of the Moors and Arabs. Independence appears to be the greatest object of their existence, as with it they cheerfully endure poverty in the most rigorous climates. Such, at least, is their actual political condition, and with such unequivocal marks of originality of character, I think they may be regarded as a safe depository of a language.

'From various causes, they may have thrown off their surplus population amongst their neighbors, and even sent out colonies in a country, that does not appear to have been ever properly settled, yet under such circumstances, having no distinct religion of their own, they might easily enough accept that of their neighbors, where nothing was hazarded by it. At this day the Kabyles are regarded as very barbarians, both in the theory and practice of Islamism. There is a foundation in Algiers expressly for their instruction, which they receive *gratis*. From what is related of the Tuarycks by Hornemann and Lyon, they are also a white people, very numerous, brave, warlike, and of an independence of manners and deportment, that displays a remarkable contrast with the servility in practice at the court of Fezzan. They inhabit vast regions intersected by deserts, have little knowledge of Islamism beyond its forms, and in several districts they are pagans. It is not therefore a great stretch of credulity to believe, that the Tuarycks are also an original unconquered people, and the depositaries of an ancient language, which being identified with that of the Kabyles, leads to the conclusion that it is one of the ancient languages of the world, which has withstood the conquests of the Phenicians, of the Romans, of the Vandals, and of the Arabs. As I have the authority of the learned Shaw for believing, that this language is radically different from the Hebrew and the Arabic, I think the premises justify this conclusion, though it would certainly be more interest-

ing to discover the language of Sanchoniathon, than the Numidian. This question, however, must be left to the decision of the learned, when its vocabulary is made more complete, and a greater insight is obtained into its grammatical forms.'

Mr Shaler has obtained partial vocabularies of the language of the Kabyles, taken by a Jewish interpreter, and a Swedish gentleman, which are printed in this paper, and compared with Dr Shaw's vocabulary. The investigation will be pursued, as opportunities occur of becoming better acquainted with the language of these people. Several particulars illustrating this subject, and confirming the suggestions in the above extract, may be expected in Mr Shaler's work on Algiers, which has already been promised to the public.

On the whole we cannot doubt, that the present volume of Transactions will fully sustain the reputation, which the Society has acquired by those it has formerly published. The first paper, containing a *Description of Insects inhabiting North America*, by Mr Thomas Say, occupies about one fifth of the volume, and the name of the author, in connexion with this department of physical science, speaks sufficiently for the character of his performance. There are other articles on topics of mineralogy, chemistry, botany, the mathematics, and one on the anatomy and physiology of the Alligator of North America. An obituary notice of the late president, Robert Patterson, is prefixed to the volume.

The best historical account of the American Philosophical Society, which we have seen, is contained in the appendix to Mr Walsh's Appeal.

Art. II.—*Hadad, a Dramatic Poem.* By James A. Hillhouse, Author of 'Percy's Masque,' and 'The Judgment.' New York. E. Bliss and E. White. 1825. 8vo. pp. 208.

The scene, in which this poem is laid, is not such a one as poetry has often inclined to select, though none could be found, as we apprehend, more appropriate to the exercise of its powers. Indeed we are surprised, that the ancient Jewish

history, full as it is of high associations, lasting sympathies, singular opinions, remarkable events, and great men, has not been a favorite and peculiar walk of the dramatic muse. Where is there a more eventful page in the book of heroes and kingdoms, than that which records the life of David, or a more splendid one, than that on which is emblazoned the reign of Solomon? And with regard to the people, who were governed by these great princes, where, we would ask, is there, or has there been a nation, who have stood forth in so high relief from the rest of the world, as the posterity of Israel? The single circumstance, that they alone worshipped the one great Creator, to the exclusion of all the gods of all other lands, is enough to confer on them an extraordinary preeminence, and a strongly distinctive character. They were proud, it is true, stiffnecked, restless, rebellious and ungrateful—but they were separate. No wonder that they called their city the Holy City; crime and pollution, after moving in pompous procession, and under the names of religion and piety, through every other city of the earth, found the gates of Jerusalem shut fast against their mockeries. No wonder that the temple was a perpetual boast, and that the perfection of beauty and glory was supposed to shine from its outward walls, and reside among its pillars and its porticos; the name of Jehovah, and his name only, was pronounced in worship there, and imparted a sublimity and majesty to the place, before which the architectural piles of Ephesus and Athens dwindled down into senseless masses of stone. Then there was that strange, mysterious brotherhood, the prophets; companions of kings, favorites and embassadors of Heaven; who denounced against the peculiar people curses and wrath, or promised the fulness of blessing; and who poured forth their prophecies, whether of mercy or woe, in strains of poetry which have never been surpassed in loftiness and beauty, if they have ever been equalled, by the genius of man.

In this remarkable light the ancient Israelites must appear, even to those who regard them merely as one of the nations of the earth, possessing no claims on their attention but such as are derived from national peculiarity. Additional claims are made, and far stronger sympathies are excited by this singular race, in the view of those who receive the dispensation by Moses as a part of their own religion, and see in their

spiritual Prince and Saviour, a descendant of the house of David. To them the literature of Judah is sacred, the sayings of the prophets are oracles, and Palestine is a land of pilgrimage. The wilderness in which the tribes roamed for forty years; the mount from whose top their prophet received the law; and every inch of that country, which came to them by promise, are to all Christians holy ground, and not to be trod upon, unless the feet are bare.

There is another association, and a melancholy one, which belongs to the land of Judea. Where are its once favored inhabitants? Where are the ancient people of God? They have given place to the barbarian and the infidel; their descendants are scattered among the gentiles, though still, as ever, remaining distinct from them; the hills are all the same, Jordan flows on as before, the very wells at which the patriarchs quenched their thirst are recognised and named by religious curiosity, but the children of the soil are far away, and a Jew is an alien in the land of his fathers.

> The cedars wave on Lebanon,
> But Judah's statelier maids are gone!

These are all circumstances of no ordinary character; such indeed as can be matched in interest by no other human history. They are all under the dominion of poetry, and only wait to be swayed, that their power may be adequately felt.

Among the most successful trials, which have been attempted in this way, we venture to rank the dramatic poem before us. The event, which our countryman has chosen for the main action of his piece, is the rebellion of Absalom. But neither Absalom, nor his father, nor Ahithophel, is his chief character, nor yet Hadad, prince of Damascus, but—start not, uninitiated reader—it is Lucifer himself, under the form, or rather animating the corpse of Hadad, who is the visible instigator of the mischief, and hero of the scene, mixing with the other characters in all their conversations as a man, and appearing as a man, though to be sure a wild and strange one, to the very end.

For so bold a conception as this, we could have pardoned a much weaker execution of it, than has really been effected. But Mr Hillhouse's temerity stops not here. He has not only made the devil his hero, but, according to established usage,

he has made his hero in love. Think of that; the devil in love! none of your inferior spirits, or fallen angels of low degree; but the arch fiend himself, desperately in love with a granddaughter of David! This, as we barely state it, appears altogether ludicrous; but in the poet's conduct of it, there is nothing ludicrous, and hardly anything which is revolting. If it had been announced at the first, as was the custom in the ancient Mysteries, that 'here comes the devil incarnate, in the shape of prince Hadad, and here comes the lady Tamar, of whom he is enamoured,' our ideas of propriety would perhaps have received an irrecoverable shock; but the secret is so well kept from us in the introductory scenes, it is so gradually unfolded, or rather hinted at, in the course of the poem, and the principal character is sustained with so much dignity, that none but a serious impression is left upon the mind of the reader, and the dialogues between Hadad, or Lucifer, and the daughter of Absalom, are the most solemn and tender in the work. The general outline of the fiend is that of Milton's Satan; and it is only when we have finished the perusal of Mr Hillhouse's drama, that we are permitted to reflect how hazardous an undertaking it was, to bring forward this same lofty, solitary being, who warred with the Almighty, and preferred to reign in hell rather than serve in heaven, to bring forward this one into the Jewish court, and occupy him with an earthly love.

But let us relate the story. Those who have not read it, will desire the recital; and those who have, will make no objection to their memory being refreshed by the repetition.

The first scene introduces to us Hadad, who is a hostage in Jerusalem, conferring with Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, and endeavoring, though with little direct success, to make him renounce his allegiance to David, who is represented as the usurper of a throne, which belonged of right to the descendant of Saul. Then follows a dialogue between Hadad and Absalom, in which the jealousy of the latter is successfully inflamed against his younger brother Solomon. This conference is interrupted by the prophet Nathan, at whose appearance Hadad precipitately withdraws; and here the first suspicion is awakened with regard to that person's character.

'*Nath.* Why doth that Syrian shun me? Always thus
He, like a guilty thing, avoids my presence.
Where'er I find him, and I find him ever
Closely conferring, whether roofed, as now,
Or on the walls, or in the streets, or gates,
Or the resorts of men, if I appear,
His bright mysterious eye seems conscious of me,
And soon he vanishes. I touched him once.
He turned, as he had felt a scorpion; fear
And loathing glared from his enkindled eyes,
And paleness overspread his face, like one
Who smothers mortal pain. Fierce, subtle, dark,
Designing, and inscrutable, he walks
Among us like an evil Angel.'

The same distrust is expressed in the succeeding scene by the seer to King David, joined with the counsel that the suit of Hadad for Absalom's daughter Tamar, should be rejected. The king, however, does not readily admit his advice, and especially refuses to suspect the designs and fidelity of Absalom, against whose policy Nathan also warns him.

The third scene is the beautiful one between Hadad and Tamar; which has been so often quoted, that we shall forbear transferring it to our pages. In the course of it, the seeming prince attempts, with alluring words, to instil into the mind of the loving and confiding princess, doubts of the goodness of Jehovah, and a preference for the voluptuous rites of heathen worship. But the maiden is steadfast in her faith and purity.

Repulsed in one quarter, we find the tempter busy in another, laying snares for the virtue of the youthful Solomon. The introduction to this scene is a beautiful description of Jerusalem, before which Hadad is standing alone.

'*Had.* 'Tis so;—the hoary Harper sings aright;
How beautiful is Zion!—Like a queen,
Armed with a helm in virgin loveliness,
Her heaving bosom in a bossy cuirass,
She sits aloft, begirt with battlements
And bulwarks swelling from the rock, to guard
The sacred courts, pavilions, palaces,
Soft gleaming through the umbrage of the woods,
Which tuft her summit, and, like raven tresses,
Wave their dark beauty round the Tower of David.

Resplendent with a thousand golden bucklers,
The embrazures of alabaster shine;
Hailed by the pilgrims of the desert, bound
To Judah's mart with orient merchandise.
But not, for thou art fair and turret-crowned,
Wet with the choicest dew of heaven, and blessed
With golden fruits, and gales of frankincense,
Dwell I beneath thine ample curtains. Here,
Where Saints and Prophets teach, where the stern law
Still speaks in thunder, where chief Angels watch,
And where the Glory hovers, here I war.'

Meanwhile Absalom is continually worked upon by the arts of the indefatigable seducer, till his affections are completely alienated from his father, and he plots against his crown. At the house of Obil, a creature of Hadad's, we have a meeting of the conspirators, three of whom, Ahithophel, Manasses, and Malchiah, are members of the royal council. Couriers come in, from various parts of the country, with accounts of so favorable an aspect, that the morrow is fixed on for the day of unmasked rebellion.

The fourth act opens with a scene on the top of Mount Olivet, which is crowded with fugitives from Jerusalem. King David, driven from his throne by his unnatural son, is worshipping among his household; while Joab, Benaiah, and other chieftains, marshal the multitude. We will extract a part of the scene for our readers, principally because the fierce and impetuous character of Joab is so well preserved in it.

'*Ben.* Go bid yon loiterers hasten over Kedron,
If they would march with us.
Joab. Let them abide;—
Why crawl they after us?—What seest thou, ho?
[*Addressing a Soldier stationed in a tree above him.*]
Soldier. Nothing, my lord, but people from the city
Hurrying this way.
Joab. Look not on them, fool; fix
Thine eyes upon the south.
Soldier. I do, my lord.
Joab. What seest thou toward the Prince's pillar?
Soldier. Nothing.
Joab. On that same open height beyond it?
Soldier. Nothing.

Joab. Well, nail thine eyes there.—Will the old man's prayer
Stretch out till doom? Benaiah, we lose time;
We should be now beyond Bahurim.
Ben. Be patient;
The stroke was bitter, and his heart seemed fraught
Almost to bursting.
Joab. Better rive at once,
Than meet the tender mercies of his son
By loitering here. By heaven, I'll rouse him—
Ben. Hold,
Hold, Joab!
People. Stand aside—Back there—The King!
[KING DAVID *comes forward among the People; Enter* HUSHAI, *with his garments rent; he falls to the ground, and clasps the King's feet.*]
Hush. God save my lord the King! Live I to see
My master thus! the Light, the Rock of Israel!
K. Dav. Once, Hushai, once the candle of the Lord
Beamed on my head, and like a shadowing rock,
His buckler sheltered me. Thou seest me, now,
Dark and defenceless; all my leprous sins
Wrathfully visited upon my people.
First People. What will become of us?
Second People. Alas! alas!
Heaven hath forsaken us!
Third People. Wo, wo, alas!
Joab. (*Going among them.*)
Peace with your howling! Peace! or ye shall feast
The wild beasts of the wilderness.—My lord,
We linger here while death is at our heels.
K. Dav. Hushai.
Hush. Command thy servant.
K. Dav. Turn thou back;
Mix with his council; seem as they. Thy words
May blast Ahithophel's, whose malice, else,
Will work our ruin; With us thou canst nought.—
Abiathar and Zadok stay behind,
By my commandment, with the Ark; To them
Communicate what thou canst learn of import;
They will despatch it to me by their sons,
Where I shall wait them in the wilderness.
Joab. Depart ere thou art seen.
Hush. God guard the King,
And bring him home to Zion.
K. Dav. May it please Him!'

The whole of this part of the poem is hardly more than a dramatic version of the original story, as it is related in the second book of Samuel. Obedient to the desire of his master, whose prudence and foresight are awakened, instead of stupified, by misfortune, Hushai, the faithful counsellor, returns to the city, in order to countermine and defeat the purposes of Absalom. It was the usurper's interest to press on immediately with his forces, and overwhelm his father before he could collect his friends and recover from his confusion. It was consequently Hushai's part to induce delay, by representing it as the wisest and safest course. This he effectually accomplishes. But the whole of the council scene, in which the debate takes place, is so favorable a specimen of Mr Hillhouse's powers, that we shall present it in his own words; and the rather, because, though it is inferior to none in the poem, we have not seen it extracted in any of the notices which have been given to the public.

'*The council-hall.* ABSALOM, AHITHOPHEL, MANASSES, MALCHIAH, HUSHAI, *and others, in debate;* AHITHOPHEL *speaking.*

Ahith. My lord, you know them not—you wear, to-day,
The diadem, and hear yourself proclaimed
With trump and timbrel Israel's joy, and deem
Your lasting throne established. Canst thou bless,
Or blast, like Him who rent the waters, clave
The rock, whose awful clangour shook the world
When Sinai quaked beneath his majesty?
Yet Jacob's seed forsook this thundering Guide,
Even at the foot of the astonished mount!—
If benefits could bind them, wherefore flames
The Ammonitish spoil upon thy brows,
While David's locks are naked to the night dew?
Canst thou transcend thy father? is thy arm
Stronger than his who smote from sea to sea,
And girt us like a band of adamant?—
Trust not their faith. Thy father's root is deep;
His stock will bourgeon with a single sun;
And many tears will flow to moisten him.—
Pursue, this night, or ruin will o'ertake thee.

Ab. What say'st thou, Hushai? Speak to this, once more.

Hush. I listen to my lord Ahithophel,
As to a heaven-instructed oracle;
But what he urges more alarms my fears.

Thou seest, O King, how night envelopes us;
Amidst its perils, whom must we pursue?
The son of Jesse is a man of war,
Old in the field, hardened to danger, skilled
In every wile and stratagem; the night
More welcome than the day. Each mountain path
He treads instinctive as the ibex; sleeps,
Moistened with cold dank drippings of the rock,
As underneath the canopy. Some den
Will be his bed to-night. No hunter knows
Like him, the caverns, cliffs, and treacherous passes;
Familiar to his feet, in former days,
As 'twixt the Court and Tabernacle! What!
Know ye not how his great heart swells in danger
Like the old lion's from his lair by Jordan
Rising against the strong? Beware of him by night,
While anger chafes him. Never hope
Surprisal. While we talk, they lurk in ambush,
Expectant of their prey; the Cherethites,
And those blood-thirsty Gittites crouch around him,
Like evening wolves; fierce Joab darts his eyes,
Keen as the leopard's, out into the night,
And curses our delay; Abishai raves;
Benaiah, Ittai, and the Tachmonite,
And they, the mighty three, who broke the host
Of the Philistines, and from Bethlehem well
Drew water, when the King but thirsted, now,
Raven like beasts bereaved of their young.—
We go not after boys, but the Gibborim,
Whose bloody weapons never struck but triumphed.
Malchi. It were a doubtful quest.
Hush. Hear me, O King.
Go not to-night, but summon, with the dawn,
Israel's ten thousands; mount thy conquering car,
Surrounded by innumerable hosts,
And go, their strength, their glory, and their King,
Almighty to the battle; for what might
Can then resist thee? Light upon this handful,
Like dew upon the earth; or if they bar
Some city's gates against thee, let the people
Level its puny ramparts, stone by stone,
And cast them into Jordan. Thus, my lord
May bind his crown with wreaths of victory,
And owe his kingdom to no second arm.
Ahith. O blindness! Lunacy!

Hush. I would retire ;
Ye have my counsel.
Ahith. Would thou hadst not come,
To linger out with thy pernicious talk
The hours of action.
Hush. Wise Ahithophel,
No longer I'll offend thee. Please the King——
[Absalom *waves him to resume his seat.*]
Ahith. By all your hopes, my lord, of life and glory,
I do adjure thee shut thine ears to him !
His counsel's fatal, if not treacherous.
I see its issue, clearly as I see
The badge of royalty,—not long to sit
Where now it sparkles, if his words entice thee.—
Never was prudence in my tongue, or now.—
Blanch'd as I am, weak, withered, winter-stricken,
Grant but twelve thousand men, and I'll go forth.
Weary, weak-handed, what can they, if taken,
Now, in their first alarm ?
Ab. Were this resolved,
We would not task thy age. What think ye, sirs ?
Manass. My lord, the risk is great : a night assault
Deprives us of advantage from our numbers,
Which in the open field ensure success ;
And news of a disaster blown about,
And magnified, just now, when all are trembling,
Might lose a Tribe, might wound us fatally.
Hushai's advice appears most prudent.
Ahith. Fate !
Malchi. I think so too, my lord.
Others. And I. And I.
Ahith. Undone !
Ab. The Council are agreed, this once,
Against you, and with them the King accords.
Ahith. (*Stretching his hands toward* Absalom.)
Against thyself, thy throne, thy life, thy all !
Darkness has entered thee, confusion waits thee,
Death brandishes his dart at thee, and grins
At thy brief diadem !—Farewell ! Farewell !—
Remember me !——I'll not be checked and rated,—
Branded with treason—see my hoary hairs
Hooted and scoffed at, if they're spared, indeed,
For such indignity.——Thou'lt follow soon. [*Exit.*]
Ab. Or win or lose, we walk not by thy light.

Malchi. The old man's strangely moved.
Manass. His fury seemed
Prophetical.
Ab. The Council is dissolved,
Here to assemble in the morning early,
To order for our absence. Leave us now
To private business.
Counsellors. Save our lord the King.'

While these things are going on, Tamar, shocked at her father's crime, escapes from her apartments, is rescued in the streets from violence by two ancient Jews, and is conducted by them to the temple, which she had been seeking as a place of safety. She is torn from the sanctuary, however, by Hadad, and brought back, as we are left to suppose, to her father. Just before the battle, Absalom places her under the care of Hadad, with an injunction that he should keep aloof from the turmoil, and if the fortune of the day declared for David, that he should bear her away to the palace of his old friend Talmai, king of Geshur. After this we see no more of the contending parties, but have an account of the fight from some who witness it. It is waged in the forest of Ephraim; in one part of which we are introduced to the peaceful tents of a company of Ishmaelites. Women are seen under the trees, and one is singing before the door of her tent. Presently a man comes in, with the intelligence that two mighty hosts are joining battle; and soon after Tamar, pale and fatigued, and conducted by Hadad, craves and receives the shelter and hospitality of the tent. Then we have an exceedingly animated description of the battle, given by several of the Ishmaelites, as they enter, one after another, from the field, laden with the spoil of the slain. Abimelech, the master of the tent, returns last of all, and relates the defeat of the rebels, and the death of Absalom.

'*Abim.* He fled upon a mule, and disappeared,
And had escaped I thought, though hotly followed,
Taking the wood when met upon the plain.
But as I crossed the forest far within,
A trumpet roused me. Hearing earnest voices,
I made that way, through a close brake, to spy
The danger. Near the thicket's verge, I saw
A concourse round an oak. Intent they seemed

On some great spectacle. Opening anon,
I saw him, bleeding, and transpierced with darts,
Borne past me on their shields.
Had. What was his vesture?
Abim. Fragments of purple hung about his shoulders.
Had. His arms? his helm?
Abim. Unhelm'd his head, and bare;
His breastplate sparkled, studded, and engrailed
With flowers of gold, pure burnish of Damascus.
Had. His stature—
Abim. Palm-like tall, of noblest aspect;
With ample locks that trailed upon the ground.
Had. Let Hades rise to meet him reverently,
For not a Kingly Shadow there sustained
A prouder spirit.
Abim. I have watched
His dauntless bearing through this desperate day
Too keenly to mistake. Though he miscarried,
He well deserves a valiant memory,
And fought it like a son of David.'

Hadad conceals from the guard who accompany him, the fate of their master Absalom, and sends them forth in pursuit of him. He then leaves the Ishmaelite's tent with Tamar, under pretence of pursuing their journey to a place of safety, but in reality for the purpose of obtaining undisturbed possession of her. In a dark and solitary wood, he addresses her by every possible argument, which he thinks may prevail on her to yield herself up to his power and protection. On her persisting in her resolution to return to her grandfather David, he begins to reveal his real nature, and promises her the gift of immortality, if she will but authorise the act by one consenting word. Instead of being dazzled, the princess becomes terrified, and Hadad, dismissing all caution, unfolds to her his character, and the whole course of his love. He tells her, that the first time he saw her, himself invisible, was when she returned with her father Absalom from Geshur, that he was satisfied with gazing on her and being near her, till the young Syrian, the real Hadad, won her affections; that he then first knew 'Hell's agonies, and writhed in fire, and felt the scorpion's sting;' but yet he did not harm his rival, who was killed by some outlaws while hunting among the mountains; that he then assumed his

body, and since that time had worn it, braving all the consequences of the deed for her love. Several striking circumstances are introduced, but we will not mar this highly wrought and terrible scene by transcribing them. To conclude our abstract of the story, Tamar, resisting the advances of her infernal suitor, and calling on God for aid, is dragged into a cave. A party of David's soldiers, who happen to be near, hasten to the spot; but aid of another kind had arrived before them. One of them, who had entered the cave, rushes out in an agony of terror, and gives the following answer to his companions, who ask him what he saw.

'One like the Cherubim,
Dreadfully glistering, wing'd, and dazzling bright
As lightning, whose fierce-bickering eyeballs shot
Sparkles like arrows, filling all the cave
With red effulgence,—smiting with grasp'd beams
A howling, withering, ghast, demoniac shape,
Crouched like a venomous reptile,—rage and fear
Gleaming in his fell eyes,—who curs'd and gnash'd
And yelled, till death's last livid agony.'

Tamar, of course, is rescued, and the withered body of Hadad, dispossessed of the foul spirit, is left upon the ground.

An observable characteristic of this poem is the equal tenor of its composition. There is nothing in it which is mean, or inconsistent with the dignity of the subject; with the exception of one incident, which we shall notice presently. In one of his other performances, 'The Judgment,' Mr Hillhouse was equally remarkable for the almost presumptuous nature of his theme, and for the reputable manner in which he bore himself through it. If we compare the two productions, we shall find quite as much genius and poetic talent displayed in the Judgment as in Hadad; but in the latter there is more maturity, greater ease, and an increased capacity expressed for a long sustained flight.

Mr Hillhouse is a careful writer. He observes all the proprieties of place, time, and character. In perusing Hadad, we were struck with his constant adherence to historical and geographical truth, and his continual allusions to the customs, manners, events, and superstitions of the people among whom he had laid his scene. His *dramatis personæ* are not mere-

ly a list of Jewish names, but they are Jews, clad in Jewish costume, living in Jewish houses, expressing Jewish opinions, and talking, as far as possible, a Jewish language. The people are the descendants of Abraham, and the country is Palestine. We have exhibited a glimpse of Joab's portrait, of David's, and of Ahithophel's; the rest are equally faithful, and Absalom's and Mephibosheth's are as marked and distinct as either of these three.

We see but little of the young Solomon; and it is in the scene where he is brought forward, that the incident occurs, which we have said is beneath the general gravity of the piece. Hadad tempts the prince by showing him a box, which contains an intoxicating perfume, and on the lid of which is depicted a glowing representation of Venus and Tammuz,—very like the snuff-boxes, we presume, which some of our beaux wear in a private pocket, and show to their particular friends. As the fiend is relating the story of the picture, the marplot Nathan enters, snatches the box from the prince, examines it, throws it on the ground, and *it flashes and rises in smoke!* We allow that the kind of temptation employed, is in perfect keeping with the character of Solomon, and his future frailties and follies; but to our taste, the snuff-box, the flashing and the smoke, are too childish and marvellous; they savour too strongly of the puppet show.

We were somewhat surprised, considering our author's habit of correctness, to find him guilty in several instances, of false accentuation. In words of every day use, casual incorrectness may pass without rigid reprehension; because the living voice of the public, and a crowd of cotemporary writers will preserve the authorised pronunciation; but among proper names, a deal of confusion may be introduced by a single respectable poet, if he does not take especial care to observe their orthoepy. If Mr Hillhouse had merely written *pre'cedence* for *prece'dence*, and *e'querries* for *equer'ies*, we should not have minded it; but we deem it our duty to point out to his notice the accentuation of *Gilbo'a* instead of *Gil'boa; Aba'na* instead of *Ab'ana; Maz'zaroth* instead of *Mazza'roth; Bethaba'ra* for *Bethab'ara; Pagi'el* for *Pa'giel;* and *Neth'nims* for *Neth'inims.*

Here we will end our fault finding; for we did not sit down to find fault, but to express the high opinion which we

entertain of this poem, and our gratitude to the author of it. There are some folks, we know, who pretend to think it very tame in us that we do not cut up every author who falls in our way, till we can see his bones; and who charge us with loading all American writers with thick and indiscriminate praise, for no other reason than because they are American. In answer to this, we will merely remark, that we are not blind to the miserable stuff, which is constantly thrown off by the presses of our country, but that it is not often we feel any desire to soil our hands with it; secondly, that we have no compunction in confessing, that we do hail, with infinitely more delight, a good work which is produced by native genius, than one of equal quality which is sent to us from the land of our ancestors, because we stand in lamentable need of such things, and the English have a plenty of them, and moreover because we are Americans ourselves. Our third remark is, that whenever we think a work is good, whether it be poetry or prose, we shall be sure to say so.

Mr Hillhouse's Hadad is an ornament and bright addition to the literature of our country. We can send it abroad without a blush or an apology; not as being of the highest order of excellence, but as a sample of American poetry, full of beauty, dignity and interest. We read it with pleasure, and we came to its last page with regret.

ART. III.—*Reports of Cases, argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of the State of Maine.* By SIMON GREENLEAF, Counsellor at Law. Vol. II. Containing Cases of the years 1822 and 1823. Hallowell. 1824.

'THE attendance of courts,' says Lord Bacon, 'is subject to four bad instruments; first, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell and the country pine; the second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly "amici curiæ," but "parasiti curiæ," in puffing a court up beyond her bounds, for their own scraps and advantages; the third sort is of those that may be ac-

counted the left hands of courts; persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths; and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of the fleece.' Had the learned chancellor continued to our own time, he might have found at least one more subject for his grave wit, in the multitude and increase of law reports.

To say nothing of the luxuriance of the English press in this department, our own country has become the field of so much legal disputation, and, consequently, of judicial decision, that it requires no despicable share of money and leisure, to supply our libraries with volumes, that publishers are continually laying before us, or to keep pace with the emphatically '*written* reason,' which they tacitly demand of us to examine as well as to purchase. But hard as it is to pay so dear for what we may call technical books, and which the world cares so little about, we want our own reports.

Our age is not peculiar in its complaint of the increase of law books. Lord Mansfield, in the middle of the last century, referred to the multiplication of this species of human industry with infinite complacency. His remark was, that though the increase was great, it did not increase the quantity of necessary reading; as the perusal of the new, frequently superseded the necessity of that of the old production. If this remark of his Lordship was true in his own time, it has certainly gained force since the period his splendid intellect adorned the British bench,—and whether he referred to books of reports or elementary works, all of our age, and especially those of our countrymen, who are destined for the bar, will feel the peculiar pertinency and meaning of the observation. Indeed, in this country, where there is a score of independent sovereignties, each supporting its own system of judicature, and more than half of them their reporters of decisions, there is consolation in the thought, that the plan of systematising the science, and reducing the disjointed and rambling principles of the system, to the subjection of essays and law treatises, has gone so far; and

whether done by Englishmen or Americans, they both deserve the thanks of the profession. In this country, therefore, we may well entertain a special regard for all elementary works of the law. And the value of such works, for the concentrating character which they are intended to possess, is yearly increasing with us. It is not a matter of little surprise, that twentyfive years ago, the best library of American reports that could be summoned by money or magic, within the circumference of the Union, might have been borne the circuits in a portfolio, while now, there are hardly less than two hundred within our territories. Valuable, then, must be such collections of legal principles, and dissertations upon them, while they serve to keep sacred and distinct the doctrines they discuss; and doubly valuable, when by the patience, and industry, and investigation of their authors, we find decisions upon those principles, collected from different parts of our country, and the reasons of those decisions brought into one comprehensive view, and confronted with the opinions of those, whose fame is in the Year Books, and who may almost be said to have fixed the immutable axioms of the law.

Numerous, however, as are the books of reports that are daily soliciting our attention, many of them are the vehicles of decisions, interesting and important in public estimation, so that, while we need not fear, with Mr Justice Buller, the 'shipwreck of the law' from the intervention of 'hard cases,' we may well hope for the safety of it in those high authorities, which our own time has seen erected like fortifications around its principles. High political excitements, and political emergencies, give occasion for legal dilemmas; and though we should be slow to believe, that any situation of things would raise questions between parties, that could hide the old 'landmarks' from the penetration of our learned jurists and judges, still the opinion may be ventured, that under circumstances of national tranquillity the science advances with surer, because soberer steps, and that we shall hereafter be induced to point to our peaceful times, as the periods of the most important decisions, and the highest juridical learning, as developed in our books of authorities. As it is, the principles of the common law are becoming every day, from such frequent application, better understood, and our judicial character more effectually established.

The character of an accomplished reporter is no ordinary acquirement. To win this reputation requires legal penetration and acumen, as well as a familiarity with principles and forms, and an adroitness in reference and application. A faithful and able reporter of judicial reasoning, gives a dignity and weight to the tribunal under whose adjudications he may sit. The method of compressing the arguments of counsel, which Mr Greenleaf has in some instances carried to an extreme, has been matter of complaint in the mouths of some men, too eminent in the walks of judicature to need such arguments at all. But we are sure, that neither the rights of parties, nor the reputation of the law, is jeoparded by such a course. Judges have all the advantages desirable, from listening to the arguments *in extenso*, and we must be content to hope, that students will go to the fountains, to which the books of decisions will so frequently direct them.

Our readers need scarcely be told, that this is not the first time that Mr Greenleaf has been before the public in a legal character. His 'Collection of over-ruled Cases,' which appeared in 1821, bore good testimony to his industry, and entitled him to high credit, as well as to the thanks of the profession. The present is the second volume of the decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine, which has appeared under his auspices, since the separation of that State from Massachusetts. Mr Greenleaf is of the order of compendious reporters. He is lucid and direct in his statement of cases; his arguments of counsel are arranged with logical exactness, and a well conceived brevity, which give us their outline well defined, and yet without any sinuosities. He is happy in his discrimination of the *onus* of the reasoning, and his consequent exposition of it. Mr Greenleaf is always concise, while throughout he never fails to be just; and this is no small praise, when the longest, or most important case in the volume, will be found to allow not above two pages to the arguments of counsel.

The present volume contains about one hundred cases, within the limits of little more than four hundred pages. Many of them are important as well as interesting. The book indicates great industry in the Court, and the decisions bear marks of precision and emphasis, which give to the ac-

curate and intelligent opinions of Chief Justice Mellen the character of strong authority. The opinion of the Court is delivered, in almost every instance, by the presiding Judge.

Though a plain case, the opinion of the Court in *Frothingham* vs *Dutton* deserves notice. The defendant in that action did not disclose the matter of his defence, but tendered issue, and claimed trial by jury, yet for withholding such disclosure, his right was denied, and he was called. On bringing the cause before the Supreme Court, upon summary exceptions pursuant to the statute, the Chief Justice observed, 'under these circumstances we are of opinion, that the defendants ought not to have been defaulted. They had a *constitutional* right to a verdict of the jury, and to call on the plaintiff to *prove* before them the demand, on which he founded his action.' The default was set aside. Now, however excellent a thing a *code of the Bar*, or the usage of a Court may be, yet when any of the provisions of the one, or the nature of the other, may go to impair a constitutional privilege, few will deny that, by such decisions, they should be virtually abolished. A Court can hardly be supposed to judge of a case, until it is laid before them, and if the party cannot make one out, it is at his own risk that he undertakes to do it. Charles Butler has said, 'That the right of interpretation should be vested in Judges, no reasonable person can deny; but to what extent it should be allowed, or, in other words, to ascertain the exact point, where judicial interpretation should stop, and legislative interpretation intervene, is a question of extreme difficulty.' The observation of this learned lawyer may be very true; but a case of difficulty has not arisen, when we are merely called on to solve the question, 'is or is not the trial by jury our right, whenever we choose to demand it?' Better, at once, that we have a French jury, such as that distinguished jurist has represented to us, and better that interpretation were declared by *arrêts*, than that such an invaluable privilege should for a moment be jeoparded.

The case of 'The Proprietors of the Kennebeck Purchase *vs* Laboree & als,' which is the most elaborate authority in the book, is one of more than common consequence, as well from the doctrine of *disseisin*, which is involved in it, as from

the judgment that is passed upon the section of the statute of March 1821, on which the defence is founded. That section contained a provision, declaring in substance, that in all real actions then pending, or which should afterwards be brought, it should not be necessary for barring the action, that the premises defended should have been surrounded by fences; but that, if the possession of the tenant, or those under whom he claimed, had been such as comported with the ordinary management of a farm, and satisfactorily indicative of such an exercise of ownership, as is usual in the improvement of it by the owner, it should be sufficient; thus changing the principles of the law of disseisin, in regard to past transactions, and virtually taking away the rights of the proprietor. The opinion is long, and ably supported by numerous authorities and strong reasoning. We can here introduce but a few passages from it.

The decision has declared that portion of the law *retrospective* and unconstitutional. After some preliminary observations, the Chief Justice goes on to say;

'The doctrine of the common law on this subject seems to be plain and well settled; a possession must be adverse to the title of the true owner, in order to constitute a disseisin; the possessor must claim to hold and improve the land for his own use and exclusive of others.' 'We are inclined to believe, that upon examination it will be found, that the principles of the common law are applied in England and New York with more strictness as regards the *occupant* of the land, than they have ever been in Massachusetts or with us, upon the doctrine of disseisin; at least so far as relates to the presumption of law in reference to the intentions of the possessor.' 'The facts relied on to prove the possession exclusive' 'must, however, be such, as at once to give notice to all, of the nature and extent of the possessor's improvement and claim.' 'It must be such an open and visible occupancy, that the proprietor may at once be presumed to know the extent of the claim and usurpation of him, who has intruded himself unlawfully into his lands, with an intent to obtain a title to them by wrong.'

These are plain principles, and well known; nor are they introduced for their novelty, but merely for the directness of their statement, and as preparatory to the train of reasoning which leads to the decision.

'According to existing laws,' says the Chief Justice, 'deeds of conveyance of real estate must be *under seal.* Such deeds, to pass

a *fee simple estate*, must contain certain legal terms; viz.—the conveyance must be to the grantee and his *heirs*. To entitle a widow to dower in her deceased husband's estate, he must have been seized of it *during the coverture*. Now if our legislature should at the next session pass a law, declaring that all deeds of conveyance of real estate, that had *before that time* been executed, or should in future be executed, should be considered and adjudged sufficient in law to pass the estate therein described, in fee simple, though such deeds were not under seal, and contained no words of inheritance; and that a widow should, in all cases be entitled to dower in her deceased husband's estate, where he had died, or might in future die, seized of such estate, at any time *before* as well as *during* the coverture;—will the principles on which a free government is founded—will the principles of common honesty and justice, sanction such a law, so far as to give it a *retroactive* effect, and thereby disturb, impair and destroy the vested rights of those, who had become the owners of the estates under *then* existing laws?'

'Let us further suppose that the action had not yet been tried, but was to be tried at this term. Let us further suppose that the legislature, at their last session, had passed a law declaring that in all actions, then *pending or that might be commenced after the passing of such act*, no adverse, notorious, and exclusive possession of the demanded premises, although surrounded with fences, should be a bar and constitute a good defence in such action; unless such possession and disseisin has, or shall have been continued for *forty* years, next before the commencement of such action. Now would the tenant, or any other man, understanding and respecting principles, consider such a law constitutional? On the contrary, would it not be at once pronounced unjust and void? If such an act of the legislature could be sanctioned, not only the tenant, in the circumstances we have supposed, would be deprived of his estate by a destruction of vested rights, but a large class of citizens, similarly situated, would suffer under similar deprivations. The more the principle of the section in question is examined, the more distinct become its objectionable features.' 'In a word, the whole section taken together appears to have been enacted with a view, and for the purpose, of abolishing the distinction, well known to have then existed between a possession *under a claim of title on record*, and a possession *without* any such claim or pretence of title.'

Again he observes;

'The section is certainly retrospective as well as prospective. It professes to establish principles by which causes then pending, as well as those which might in future be commenced, should be decided. It professes to operate on *past* transactions, and to give

to facts a character, which they did not possess at the time they took place; and to declare that in the trial of causes *depending on such facts*, they shall be considered and allowed to operate in the decision of such causes, according to their *new character*. It professes to settle rights and titles depending on laws, as they existed for a long series of years *before* the act was passed, by new principles, which for the first time are introduced by its provisions. It professes to change the nature of a disseisin, and thereby subject the true owner of lands to the loss of them, by converting into a disseisin, by *mere legislation*, those acts which, at the time the law was passed, did not amount to a disseisin. It professes to punish the rightful owner of lands, by barring him of his right to recover the possession of them, when, by the existing laws, he was not barred, nor liable to the imputation of any *laches*, for not sooner ejecting the wrongful possessor.'

After illustrating his subject by a few examples, the Chief Justice concludes in the following independent strain.

'It is always an unpleasant task for a judicial tribunal, to pronounce an act of the legislature in part or in whole unconstitutional. We agree with the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Fletcher* vs *Peck*, that "the question whether a law be void for its repugnance to the constitution, is, at all times, a question of much delicacy, which ought seldom, if ever, to be decided in the affirmative in a doubtful case. But the Court, when impelled by duty to render such a judgment, would be unworthy of its station could it be unmindful of the obligation which that station imposes." We cannot presume that the legislature, which enacted the law, considered the section in question, as violating any constitutional principle, or in any manner transcending their powers. Be that as it may, the oath of office, under which we conscientiously endeavor to perform our duties, imposes upon us as solemn an obligation to declare an act of our legislature *unconstitutional*, when, upon mature deliberation, we believe it to be so, as it does to give prompt and full effect to all *constitutional* laws, in the administration of justice.'

ART. IV.—*Demosthenis Opera, ad Optimorum Librorum Fidem accurate Edita.* Lipsæ. Excudit Car. Tauchnitz.

BY the great majority of the literary world, from his own time to the present, Demosthenes has been considered as unsurpassed, if not unequalled in eloquence. While, how-

ever, there has been so little difference of opinion respecting the degree of his merit, the peculiar nature of it seems to be, at least in this country, very imperfectly understood. Our knowledge of the character of his oratory rests principally on secondary evidence. With Cicero, American students are, comparatively, well acquainted. Their acquaintance with him in early youth, though short and compulsory, is sufficient to give them some general impressions respecting his distinguishing characteristics, and what is of more consequence, to facilitate a more thorough and general perusal of his works in maturer years. Demosthenes is removed one step farther from our reach, by the language in which he writes; and his concise and idiomatic phraseology is so embarrassing to an inexperienced student, as to leave him little leisure to observe and relish the beauties of his author, till after repeated perusals. Few among us have the disposition, or the leisure, to read Demosthenes in the original. He has indeed been ably translated by Leland, but we may observe of translations of ancient authors, what has been remarked of engravings of fine buildings, that they seldom become objects of interest, till after the originals are generally known and studied. We judge of Demosthenes, therefore, from certain vague remarks respecting the fire, the boldness, and the magnificence of his speeches, and the errors into which such language is apt to lead us, are strengthened by an impression, which generally prevails respecting the oratory of the ancients. It is often said that modern orators speak to the reason, ancient orators spoke to the passions, a remark which, if founded in truth, is susceptible of great qualification. From the rank which Demosthenes held in the opinion of all ancient critics, and more particularly in that of his great competitor Cicero, we naturally expect to find what we consider to be the peculiar features of Grecian and Roman eloquence, displayed in the greatest force and abundance in his works. We look for extravagant declamation, for perpetual appeals to the feelings, for a crowd of similes and metaphors; in short, for a style bearing a greater resemblance to the Irish, than to any other modern oratory, and far too bold to be adopted with propriety in a modern assembly.

To those who are conversant with the writings of this orator, we need not say that the opinions, which we have just

noticed, are the very reverse of the truth; to those who are not, we shall offer a few general remarks on his real merit. The most prominent feature in his orations, as has been justly remarked, is argument. He never declaims, till he has first reasoned; he seems to disdain to inflame our passions, till he has overpowered our understanding. Few authors can bear a comparison with him in the originality and ingenuity of his arguments, in their close connexion with the point proposed and with each other; in the succinctness, perspicuity, and energy with which they are stated; in the sagacity and *generalship*, if the term may be allowed, with which he directs his force to those points where his adversary is most vulnerable, and himself most powerful; in all those qualities, in short, which constitute a powerful and accomplished logician. But though an acute and close, he is by no means a dry and cold reasoner; he bears no resemblance to those, who state their sentiments with the calmness, as well as the precision of mathematical demonstration. His argument seems to flow from his heart, as well as his intellect, and is equally impassioned with the declamation of other orators. His declamation, on the other hand, has much of the closeness and terseness, which we find displayed in the ablest arguments. We perceive in it nothing vague or extravagant, nothing florid or redundant, nothing strained or ostentatious; it always seems to enforce and illustrate, as well as to ornament, the arguments to which it refers, and appears to be introduced not only naturally but necessarily. It is scarcely possible, however, to divide the speeches of Demosthenes, like those of most other orators, into argumentative and declamatory passages. Logic and rhetoric are blended together, from the beginning to the end; the speaker, while always clear and profound, is always rapid and impassioned. The vivid feeling, displayed at intervals by other orators, bursts forth in Demosthenes with every sentence. We are forcibly reminded of the description of lightning in Homer;

> 'By turns one flash succeeds, as one expires,
> And Heaven flames thick with momentary fires.'

Were we called upon to state, what more than anything else distinguished Demosthenes from all other orators, we should answer, his constant and complete forgetfulness of himself in his subject. His object, in his most celebrated

orations, (with the exception of that on the Crown,) was to thwart and overthrow the ambitious projects of Philip of Macedon, to rouse his countrymen to a course of conduct worthy of themselves and their illustrious ancestry. That Philip was aiming at the sovereignty of Greece, that he feared and hated the Athenians, as the irreconcilable opponents to his schemes of aggrandisement, 'that he was hostile to the city of Athens, to everything which it contained, to the very ground on which it stood, but to nothing so much as its free government,' these were the ideas, which seemed to penetrate and absorb the very soul of Demosthenes, and which he put forth all his strength in impressing on the minds of his hearers. His exordium, though highly finished, is generally brief; he throws himself into the midst of his subject, and seems to have neither time nor thought for anything besides. To gain the assent, and not the applause of the audience, is his single object; his aim seems to be to direct the councils of Athens, utterly regardless of the credit which success may reflect on himself, and he appears to think as little of the skill which he shall display as an orator, as he, who is fighting for his life, thinks of the grace which he shall exhibit in the management of his weapons.

When we consider, that it is the well known property of this enthusiastic sincerity to communicate itself from the speaker to his audience, that connected even with moderate abilities it seldom fails to command a respectful attention, that it is of itself often sufficient to give a temporary interest to the most airy extravagance, it requires little reflection to perceive what effects it must produce, when united with the talents of Demosthenes. By no author is he excelled in the power of engaging and riveting our attention. We feel ourselves in the grasp of a giant, and are hurried along in the course of his argument with unceasing and breathless interest. While, however, we dwell thus forcibly on the entire devotion of Demosthenes to his great purpose, we would not be understood to imply, that his orations are devoid of all remarks of general application. He looks intensely on his subject, but it is with the eye of a consummate statesman; his remarks centre in a single point, but they are drawn from a wide circumference. Almost every one of his speeches abounds in maxims of the most profound kind, and the most universal

interest, not formally ushered forth in the garb of philosophy, but, like everything which he utters, springing naturally from his subject, and bearing strongly upon it. That the mind soon loses its dignity if given up to low and grovelling pursuits; that it is the leading duty of a true patriot never to fear responsibility; that no community can ever be great, if it suffer its conduct to be entirely determined by external circumstances; that it is for him who has received benefits to cherish them in his memory, while the giver should be the first to forget them; these, and numerous other political and moral truths of equal moment, are all enforced with the greatest clearness and vigor by Demosthenes. We consider him, in short, as the most striking illustration of the rule subsequently laid down by Horace, in the trite passage, 'ars est celare artem.' His eloquence always strikes us, as the true eloquence of nature, the language of a strong mind under high excitement.

But it is not our intention to attempt a complete, still less a technical description of his various merits, and we shall merely present our readers with a few specimens of his orations, as they appear in an English dress, intermingled with such remarks as naturally suggest themselves. We quote from Leland's translation. It is, however, necessary, to make one or two previous observations, lest our readers should think that our assertions are but feebly warranted by our extracts. The first circumstance to be noticed, is the well known fact, that Demosthenes is one of the last authors, to whom justice can be done by quotations. His orations are the very reverse of those works, which are marked by striking inequalities and forcible contrasts, by brilliant passages which can be easily distinguished, and conveniently detached from everything around them, by occasional beauties which shine out from what is dull or faulty. On the contrary, he everywhere seems animated with a similar, not to say an equal fervor; even in his highest flights he rises gradually, and every part of his speeches is so connected with what precedes and follows, that it cannot be extracted without material injury. The next circumstance, to which we shall advert, is the manifest disadvantage of quoting from a translation. The difficulty of transfusing the spirit of an ancient author into our language is notorious. With Demosthenes this difficulty is

greatly increased, by the nature of his style. This is concise, in many places to a fault, and finished with the most exquisite nicety. Every word is apt and significant, and occupies the very place of all others which best belongs to it, and of course nothing can well be altered, transposed, or omitted. To imagine that such an author can be rendered into our language, without the loss of many beauties of phraseology, to say the least, would be to suppose such a similarity of structure between the Greek and English tongues, as exists between no two languages whatever. Leland's translation is, as before observed, executed on the whole with great ability, and should be in the hands of all, who are debarred from consulting the original. In the important circumstances of a thorough perception of his author's meaning, and an accurate knowledge of the events to which he refers, he has seldom been surpassed. He is also distinguished by great, and when we consider the natural attachment of translators to their authors, we may add, singular and laudable impartiality. He seems to have formed the most just and discriminating opinions of the merits of Demosthenes, and to have imbibed no inconsiderable portion of the spirit of his eloquence. In one respect, however, his translation falls greatly below the Greek, in elegance of phraseology. It contains many expressions, which are now obsolete or trivial; the words are by no means selected and varied with sufficient care, and the style, on the whole, is much more distinguished by strength than by polish. In judging, therefore, of our extracts, we hope our readers will direct their attention to the sentiments, rather than the phraseology. The first passage, which we shall select, is the comparison in the second Olynthiac between the Athenians of the time of Demosthenes, and their illustrious ancestors.

'These our ancestors, therefore, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence with which you are flattered, held the sovereignty of Greece, with general consent, five and forty years; deposited above ten thousand talents in our public treasury; kept the king of this country in that subjection, which a barbarian owes to Greeks; erected monuments of many and illustrious actions, which they themselves achieved, by land and sea; in a word, are the only persons who have transmitted to posterity such glory as is superior to envy. Thus great do they appear in the affairs of Greece. Let us now view them within the city, both in

their public and private conduct. And, first, the edifices which their administrations have given us, their decorations of our temples, and the offerings deposited by them, are so numerous and so magnificent, that all the efforts of posterity cannot exceed them. Then, in private life, so exemplary was their moderation, their adherence to the ancient manners so scrupulously exact, that if any of you ever discovered the house of Aristides, or Miltiades, or any of the illustrious men of those times, he must know that it was not distinguished by the least extraordinary splendor. For they did not so conduct the public business as to aggrandise themselves; their sole great object was to exalt the state. And thus by their faithful attachment to Greece, by their piety to the gods, and by that equality which they maintained among themselves, they were raised (and no wonder) to the summit of prosperity.'

This is in many respects a highly characteristic passage. It affords, in the first place, a singular instance of the indifference to mere oratorical display, which we have already mentioned as a striking quality of Demosthenes. What tempting opportunities are here disregarded. How might he have displayed those powerful talents of narration and description, which he has proved so fully in his oration on the Crown. With what force and effect might he have dwelt on those victories, which have furnished themes for the efforts of so many orators and poets, from the time when they were won to the present age. With what graphic touches might he have described those glorious monuments of Grecian art, which are even now the wonder and the study of the civilised world. Far different was his course. The whole history of Athens, from the days of Miltiades to those of Pericles, of her power, her conquests, her trophies, her wealth, her architecture, is comprised in a few brief sentences. It was his design not to raise his own fame as an orator, but to waken his countrymen from their fatal lethargy, to shame them into a more dignified and efficient course of conduct, by reminding them, in simple and affecting terms, of the height, whence they had degenerated. He chose, therefore, merely to elevate and fire their minds, by a few masterly touches, and then to deliver them over to their own reflections.

The next remarkable feature of this extract, which we shall notice, is the exemplary boldness with which the author reproves the follies of his countrymen. It is pleasing to reflect that the ascendency, which Demosthenes acquired and main-

tained over the 'fierce democracy of Athens,' was in no degree purchased by a mean compliance with their humors, or a timid forbearance towards their faults and follies. This passage is far from a singular instance in which he displays a sincerity, which the most conscientious lover of strict and abstract truth would deem worthy of high applause. His orations are full of the most pointed and caustic censures of the levity and indifference of his countrymen, in their most momentous concerns. He calls them, for instance, 'a helpless rabble, without conduct, without property, without arms, without order, without unanimity;' he declares, 'that no one has the least respect for their decrees, and, finally, that their constitution is subverted.' Language like this, one would think, must be odious in any country, and the mixture of truth which it contained, when applied to the Athenians, would, we apprehend, produce any other effect than that of rendering it more palatable. If we inquire why it was so patiently heard, from the lips of Demosthenes, we may find a sufficient reason in the skill and judgment, with which it is uniformly employed. His censures evidently spring from the purest patriotism, and are uttered not merely to gratify his own feelings, but for a benevolent and practicable object. His reproofs are constantly followed by exhortations and encouragement, and while he condemns, with the most unsparing acrimony, the degeneracy of the Athenians, he never fails to prove that if they will be themselves, all may yet be retrieved. In this respect, to say nothing of any other, we think the orations of Demosthenes a model, which cannot be too highly recommended to politicians of the present day. We trust, indeed, the time is yet distant, when a boldness like his, will be viewed by the citizens of this country, as a crime. In vain shall we boast of the liberty of expressing our thoughts, which is secured by our constitutions and laws, if it can only be exercised under the iron sceptre of an illiberal and jealous public opinion.

Our second extract is from the third Philippic, and requires no preface.

'And now what is the cause of all this? (for there must be some cause, some good reason to be assigned, why the Greeks were once so jealous of their liberty, and are now ready to submit to slavery.) It is this Athenians! Formerly, men's minds were animated with that which they now feel no longer, which conquered all the opu-

lence of Persia, maintained the freedom of Greece, and triumphed over the powers of sea and land; but now that it is lost, universal ruin and confusion overspread the face of Greece. What is this? Nothing subtle or mysterious; nothing more than a unanimous abhorrence of all those who accepted bribes from princes, prompted by the ambition of subduing, or the base intent of corrupting Greece. To be guilty of such practices, was accounted a crime of the blackest kind; a crime which called for all the severity of public justice; no petitioning for mercy, no pardon was allowed, so that neither orator nor general could sell those favorable conjunctures, with which fortune oftentimes assists the supine against the vigilant, and renders men utterly regardless of their interests, superior to those who exert their utmost efforts; nor were mutual confidence among ourselves, distrust of tyrants and barbarians, and such like noble principles, subject to the power of gold. But now are all these exposed to sale, as in a public mart; and in exchange, such things have been introduced, as have affected the safety, the very vitals of Greece. What are these? Envy, when a man hath received a bribe; laughter, if he confess it; pardon, if he be convicted; resentment, at his being accused; and all the other appendages of corruption. For, as to naval power, troops, revenues, and all kinds of preparations, everything that is esteemed the strength of a state, we are now much better, and more amply provided, than formerly, but they have lost all their force, all their efficacy, all their value, by means of these traffickers.'

We pass on from the shorter speeches of Demosthenes, to that masterpiece of Grecian eloquence, the oration on the Crown. This is distinguished from the rest, not only by its superior excellence, but by its freedom from their two most important, if not their only defects. The first of these is the coolness generally displayed in the perorations. Demosthenes complied, in this respect, with the rules of Grecian rhetoric; and it cannot but be greatly regretted, that in so important a particular he should have suffered Art to prevail over Nature. The other fault, to which we refer, is his extreme conciseness. Whether, indeed, this be a fault, seems to be more than doubtful to the ablest critics. It is certainly an error on the right side, and of singularly rare occurrence. It is ascribed by Leland, to the well known character of the Athenians, a people remarkable for their quickness of perception, to whom the slightest intimation was a sufficient clue to the orator's sentiments. Another reason may be found in the fact, that the subjects on which Demosthenes spoke had in general been

previously discussed by other orators, and fully understood, in all their relations by the audience. The assemblies which he addressed were, besides, engaged most deeply in the business before them, and their minds wound up to a degree of interest, which suffered not a single remark to pass unnoticed or unapplied. Still, under all these qualifications, Demosthenes has carried the virtue of brevity to an extreme; and, in this respect, he would be a very unsafe model for the imitation of a public speaker. His shorter orations exact even from a reader, the most wakeful and unremitted attention, and it is scarcely necessary to add, that much of the force and beauty of the finest sentiments, if expressed in a similar style, would be lost by an audience.

In the oration on the Crown, Demosthenes is, compared merely with himself, unusually diffuse. He was probably led to this course by the peculiar circumstances of his situation. His whole conduct was upon trial. He was attacked by an orator, who yielded only to himself in skill and celebrity, and forced to answer to numerous specific charges, which could be refuted only in detail, and at great length, and, as he himself observes, he could only vindicate his own character by a complete history of his public life. This oration is, accordingly, five or six times as long as any of the Philippics, and is distinguished by every species of composition, by argument, by narration, by invective, direct and ironical, by comparison, by metaphor, by apostrophe, by figures, both of thought and language, of all descriptions. Our limits will confine us to a very few extracts. The first is an example of the bitter personal reproaches, which Demosthenes heaps on his adversary. They are certainly such as neither would nor should be permitted, by the rules of any deliberative assembly at the present day. They were provoked, however, on the part of Æschines, by invectives of equal virulence and ability; and the contest between the two orators was in fact a trial of character. We may also remark, that the reproaches uttered by Demosthenes, both in this and other passages, violent as they are, contain nothing which, if true, could not be decently told, and that they are free from that disgusting vulgarity, which disfigures those of Cicero against Piso and Antony. The lines in italics allude to the charge of cowardice, which

Æschines had repeated several times in the course of his oration.

'When you had obtained your enrolment among our citizens, by what means I shall not mention, but when you had obtained it, you instantly chose out the most honorable of employments, that of under scrivener and assistant to the lowest of our public officers. And, when you retired from this station, where you had been guilty of all those practices you charge on others, you were careful not to disgrace any of the past actions of your life. No, by the powers!— You hired yourself to Simmichus and Socrates, those deep groaning tragedies, as they were called, and acted third characters. You pillaged the grounds of other men for figs, grapes, and olives, like a fruiterer; which cost you more blows than even your playing, which was in effect playing for your life; for there was an implacable, irreconcilable war declared between you and the spectators; *whose stripes you felt so often and so severely, that you may well deride those as cowards, who are unexperienced in such perils.*— But I shall not dwell on such particulars as may be imputed to his poverty. My objections shall be confined to his principles. Such were the measures you adopted in your public conduct, (for you at last conceived the bold design of engaging in affairs of state,) that while your country prospered, you led a life of trepidation and dismay, expecting every moment the stroke due to those iniquities which stung your conscience; when your fellowcitizens were unfortunate, then were you distinguished by a peculiar confidence; and the man who assumes this confidence, when thousands of his countrymen have perished, what should he justly suffer from those who are left alive? And here I might produce many other particulars of his character. But I suppress them. For I am not to exhaust the odious subject of his scandalous actions. I am confined to those which it may not be indecent to repeat. Take then, the whole course of your life, Æschines, and of mine; compare them without heat or acrimony. You attended on your scholars; I was myself a scholar. You served in the initiations; I was initiated. You were a performer in our public entertainments; I was the director. You took notes of speeches; I was a speaker. You were an underplayer; I was a spectator. You failed in your part; I hissed you. Your public conduct was devoted to our enemies; mine to my country.'

The next passage, which we select, is a rapid and forcible enumeration of the various and important measures, which had been adopted for the security of the state. To say nothing of its other beauties, the manner in which the orator introduces himself in the third person is singularly happy.

'Consider; what was the part of a faithful citizen? Of a prudent, an active, and an honest minister? Was he not to secure Eubœa as our defence against all attacks by sea? Was he not to make Bœotia our barrier on the midland side? the cities bordering on Peloponessus our bulwark, on that quarter? Was he not to attend, with due precaution, to the importation of corn, that this trade might be protected through all its progress up to our very harbor? Was he not to cover those districts which we commanded, by seasonable detachments as the Proconesus, the Chersonesus, and Tenedos? To exert himself in the assembly for this purpose, while, with equal zeal, he labored to gain others to interest and alliance, as Byzantium, Abydos, and Eubœa? Was he not to cut off the best and most important resources of our enemies, and to supply those in which our country was defective? And all this you gained by my counsels and my administration. Such counsels, and such an administration, as must appear, upon a fair and equitable view, the result of strict integrity; such as left no favorable juncture unimproved, through ignorance or treachery; such as ever had their due effects, as far as the judgment and abilities of one man could prove effectual. But if some superior being, if the misconduct of generals, if the iniquity of your traitors, or if all these together, broke in upon us, and at length involved us in one general devastation, how is DEMOSTHENES to be blamed? Had there been a single man in each Grecian state to act the same part, which I supported in this city; nay, had but one such man been found in Thessaly, and one in Arcadia, actuated by my principles, not a single Greek, either beyond or on this side Thermopylæ, could have experienced the misfortunes of this day. All had then been free and independent, in perfect tranquillity, security and happiness, uncontrolled in their several communities, by any foreign power, and filled with gratitude to you and to your state, the authors of these blessings, so extensive and so precious. And all this by my means.'

The last quotation, which we shall make, is a part of the oration on the Crown, concluding with his apostrophe to the departed heroes of Athens. Leland's version of this passage is uncommonly elegant and happy. The principal truth, which Demosthenes here labors to enforce, is no other, than that success is not the necessary result of human exertions, however wise, but the gift of heaven. This would seem to many not only an indisputable, but a commonplace maxim of morality, though no one will deny the singular ability with which it is amplified and illustrated. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the argument of Æschines. Availing himself of the

disasters, which had befallen Athens during the administration of Demosthenes, this orator accused him with the greatest vehemence, as the author of all her calamities. He represents him as the evil genius of his country, the accursed thing which had drawn down upon her the vengeance of heaven; the illstarred wretch, whose disastrous destiny had outweighed and controlled her better fortunes. These charges, which we believe would not be without their effect on the feelings even of a modern audience, under similar circumstances, must have seemed far more credible to a Pagan assembly, who were prone to consider misfortune, not only as a presumptive proof of misconduct, but as a sure indication of the wrath of the gods. Demosthenes, in reply, after urging that neither he nor any other statesman could be required to possess the gift of prophecy; after showing that the measures, which he pursued, were those of a wise and patriotic minister, and were admitted so to be, by the silent acquiescence of Æschines himself, at the time of their adoption, proceeds as follows.

'But, since he hath insisted so much upon the event, I shall hazard a bold assertion. But, in the name of heaven, let it not be deemed extravagant; let it be weighed with candor. I say then, that had we all known what fortune was to attend our efforts; had we all foreseen the final issue; had you foretold it, Æschines, (you whose voice was never heard,) yet, even in such a case, must this city have pursued the very same conduct, if she had retained a thought of glory, of her ancestors, or of future times. For, thus, she could only have been deemed unfortunate in her attempts; and misfortunes are the lot of all men, whenever it may please heaven to inflict them. But if that state, which once claimed the first rank in Greece, had resigned this rank, in time of danger, she had incurred the censure of betraying the whole nation to the enemy. If we had indeed given up those points without one blow, for which our fathers encountered every peril, who would not have spurned you with scorn? *You, the author of such conduct,* not the state, or me? In the name of heaven, say with what face could we have met those foreigners, who sometimes visit us, if such scandalous supineness on our part had brought affairs to their present situation? If Philip had been chosen general of the Grecian army, and some other state had drawn the sword against this insidious nomination, and fought the battle, unassisted by the Athenians, that people who, in ancient times, never preferred inglorious security to honorable danger? What part of Greece, what part of the barbarian world, has not heard, that the Thebans, in their period

of success, that the Lacedemonians, whose power was older and more extensive, that the king of Persia would have cheerfully and joyfully consented, that this state should enjoy her own dominions, together with an accession of territory ample as her wishes, upon this condition, that she should receive law, and suffer another state to preside in Greece? But, to Athenians, this was a condition unbecoming their descent, intolerable to their spirit, repugnant to their nature. Athens never was once known to live in a slavish, though a secure obedience to unjust and arbitrary power. No; our whole history is one series of noble contests for preeminence, the whole period of our existence hath been spent in braving dangers, for the sake of glory and renown. And so highly do you esteem such conduct, so consonant to the Athenian character, that those of your ancestors, who were most distinguished in the pursuit of it, are ever the most favorite objects of your praise. And with reason. For who can reflect without astonishment upon the magnanimity of those men, who resigned their lands, gave up their city, and embarked in their ships, to avoid the odious state of subjection? Who chose Themistocles, the adviser of this conduct, to command their forces; and, when Crysilus proposed that they should yield to the terms prescribed, stoned him to death? Nay, the public indignation was not yet allayed. Your very wives inflicted the same vengeance on his wife. For the Athenians of that day looked out for no speaker, no general to procure them a state of prosperous slavery. They had the spirit to reject even life, unless they were allowed to enjoy that life in freedom. For it was a principle fixed deeply in every breast, that man was not born to his parents only, but to his country. And mark the distinction. He who regards himself as born only to his parents, waits in passive submission for the hour of his natural dissolution. He who considers, that he is the child of his country also, is prepared to meet his fate freely, rather than behold that country reduced to vassalage; and thinks those insults and disgraces, which he must meet, in a state enslaved, much more terrible than death. Should I then attempt to assert, that it was I who inspired you with sentiments worthy of your ancestors, I should meet the just resentment of every hearer. No; it is my point to shew, that such sentiments are properly your own; that they were the sentiments of my country, long before my days. I claim but my share of merit in having acted on such principles, in every part of my administration. He, then, who condemns every part of my administration, he who directs you to treat me with severity, as one who hath involved the state in terrors and dangers, while he labors to deprive me of present honor, robs you of the applause of all posterity. For if you now pronounce, that, as my public conduct hath not been right, Ctesiphon must stand condemned, it must be thought that you yourselves have acted

wrong, not that you owe your present state to the caprice of fortune. But it cannot be! No, my countrymen! it cannot be that you have acted wrong, in encountering danger bravely, for the liberty and safety of all Greece. No! by those generous souls of ancient times, who were exposed at Marathon! By those who stood arrayed at Platæa! By those who encountered the Persian fleet at Salamis, who fought at Artemisium! By all those illustrious sons of Athens, whose remains lie deposited in the public monuments! all of whom received the same honorable interment from their country; not those only who prevailed, not those only who were victorious. And with reason. What was the part of gallant men they all performed! Their success was such as the Supreme Director of the world dispensed to each.'

No writings could, we think, be read to more advantage by the rising orators of our own country, than those of Demosthenes. A thorough study of his concise, manly, and practical eloquence, would do much to correct the two most prominent faults of American oratory. The first of these, is the excessive prolixity, by which we are most unfortunately contradistinguished from our transatlantic brethren. In our national House of Representatives, for instance, which, composed as it is of our most distinguished politicians, is certainly no unfair specimen of our deliberative assemblies, five or six weeks are spent in debating upon questions, which would be discussed in the Parliament of Great Britain, and well discussed too, in half as many evenings. The best speakers in that country generally find two or three hours at most, amply sufficient for a complete exposition of their arguments, and those eloquent orations of five or six hours, which are so much in fashion at Washington, are almost unknown. There is some appearance, indeed, that this prolixity of our congressional speakers is working its own cure, and it already begins to be suspected that, in order to convince, it is not indispensably necessary to fatigue. The next fault, to which we allude, is the fondness for unnatural and meretricious ornament, which is occasionally displayed, even by some of our ablest speakers, and which is exhibited, in irrelevant and ostentatious digressions, in cold and trite similes, and a gay confusion of metaphors, in finical circumlocutions, and a studied avoidance of direct and definite language, and, to speak more generally, in offences of every description against classical simplicity. This fault is by no means confined to our oratory, it infects in some degree every

branch of our literature, and must be ascribed in part to circumstances in our condition which can be removed only gradually. A chaste elegance in the art of composition, as in all other arts, is generally the result, in part, of assiduous culture, and consequently the evidence of a high degree of advancement. But we think, that the deficiency of several of our orators in this quality, has been owing materially to the admiration entertained, by so many of our fellowcitizens, for a few faulty models, and more especially for the works of Curran and Phillips. We object to this admiration, not so much because it is extravagant, as because it is undiscriminating. We know that perfect simplicity is compatible with a high degree of ornament, provided it be apt and unforced ornament, and there are certainly passages alike faultless and striking in both these orators, and more especially in the first. But these great beauties are balanced, not to say outweighed, by faults of equal magnitude, and the contrast, striking as it is, seems to have been strangely overlooked by many of our countrymen.

Misled by some of the most glaring absurdities of these brilliant, but irregular productions, they seem to have essentially mistaken the nature of real eloquence, to have supposed not only that it was something more than plain good sense, but something at war with it. We know nothing that could be better adapted to correct impressions like these, than the frequent contemplation of the severe beauty of Attic eloquence. But above all, would we recommend the speeches of Demosthenes, as models of practical *business like* oratory. The present age is a period, when men are *in earnest*, when they seek, even in works of amusement, for something which shall excite intense thought, and call forth their inmost feelings; when they will not endure to hear important subjects treated carelessly or superficially.* We may add, that if this be the character at the present day, of all enlightened nations, still, more especially, is it that of our own. All our public institutions, all our private and domestic habits, are calculated to render us emphatically a practical people. Every individual is in some degree a man of business. With us a recluse is almost an unknown being, and the most retired students are drawn from their closets to bear some part in the machinery of active socie-

* See Dr Channing's Sermon at the Ordination of Mr Gannett.

ty. Our whole frame of government presupposes, what our admirable systems of early education have enabled us to verify in a great degree, that our community is made up of thinking, reflecting individuals. No feature in the character of the people, at least of the older parts of our country, is more striking than their singular sedateness and gravity. Their very amusements are strongly marked by these characteristics. Their only festival days are those, which are devoted to the celebration of important agricultural, political, religious, or literary ceremonies. Nothing seems to be intended as the mere sport of the passing hour; all is serious and practical. This peculiar gravity of character is daily becoming more prominent, and diffusing itself more widely. It is surely not improbable, that it will eventually give a coloring to all our intellectual productions, but more especially to our oratory, and that in this country the most popular and successful eloquence will be the grave, manly, argumentative eloquence of which Demosthenes is so splendid an example; which disdains to trifle, which seeks to convince and persuade, not to entertain; which speaks to the reason and the heart, rather than to the fancy; the eloquence of sound thought and deep feeling. The works of Demosthenes, to say nothing of the other illustrious orators of Greece, are alone sufficient to render the language in which he wrote, worthy of the assiduous study of every well educated American.

But the study of good models is, after all, only one means of improving the oratory of our country. Among many others, which might be mentioned, we shall suggest one, both because we consider it of high importance, and because it has not, so far as we are aware, been generally adopted, either in this or any other community; and that is, to oblige the students of our principal literary seminaries to debate, extempore, from time to time, in the presence and under the direction of a teacher. No one will dispute the expediency of such a practice, who considers, either the manifest value, in a country like ours, of the faculty of speaking in public, or the great disproportion which exists among us, between the number of able and accomplished orators, and that of intelligent and well educated individuals. The debates in our legislatures, for instance, more especially in New England, are principally carried on by members of one profession,

(it is true a most respectable one,) that of the law, or rather by that highly favored portion of them, who have previously enjoyed frequent opportunities of exercising and improving their oratorical powers before a judicial tribunal.

This is certainly far from desirable. There are, in every representative assembly, many citizens of other professions and pursuits, well entitled by their wisdom and integrity to the places which they hold, and well able, had they the power of expressing themselves with ease, to shed light on every question of public importance. Yet these men, (putting out of the question rare instances of natural eloquence,) are compelled either to do themselves and their subject injustice, by an imperfect and embarrassed enunciation of their sentiments, or to confine themselves to a simple *yea* and *nay*, and leave the field of debate to their more fluent, though it may often happen, worse informed, or less intelligent brethren. The more discreet generally prefer the latter course, and however clearly they may prove their wisdom by their votes, can exert but little influence over the decisions of others.

That this evil, with many others of a similar nature, would be at least materially remedied, by the measure which we recommend, seems to us beyond a question. We may add, that it is not only a practicable measure, but one which could be carried into execution with the greatest ease, and that it has been, in fact, recently adopted in several of our *Law Schools*. It may, perhaps, be considered as unnecessary, since it is frequently said, that the practice of composition in writing, is the best method of acquiring the power of debating with force and readiness. We are sensible, that this opinion is countenanced by no mean authority, and we should be the last to dispute the numerous and weighty advantages, which can be derived from writing only, but we cannot admit that it is of itself sufficient to render men consummate orators. It may strengthen their power of thought, and increase their command of language, but much will obviously remain to do, which can be accomplished only by debating extempore. This practice, for instance, would greatly facilitate the acquisition of what is a rare accomplishment, in this and in most other countries, *a good delivery*. The reigning defect in our readers and speakers is monotony. Now this fault is often acquired by reading or reciting the works of others, and is occasioned,

more particularly, by the extreme difficulty which we find in entering into the spirit of what we utter; that is, in inspiring ourselves with the same feelings, while pronouncing a passage, that existed at the time it was composed, in the mind of the author. We find a similar, though a less difficulty, in repeating aloud our own compositions, because the glow of feeling with which they were written, has gone by, and can be recalled only by a strong effort. There is, on the other hand, no monotony in private conversation, because we utter what we feel at the moment, instead of reciting what we recollect, and, for a similar reason, this defect is displayed much more seldom, and in a much less degree, at the bar and in the senate, than in the pulpit.

We hope it will not be inferred from these remarks, that we are in any degree hostile to the prevailing custom of declaiming from the works of distinguished authors. On the contrary, we consider it of the highest value, both as an oratorical exercise, and as a vehicle of noble and useful sentiments. It is only while followed to the exclusion of any other species of declamation, that it can be open to the slightest objection. To conclude, if any readers should complain, that we have noticed only the faults of our public speakers, and passed over their good qualities in silence, we would observe, that this circumstance has resulted from the nature of our design, which has been to suggest some methods for the improvement of American oratory, and by no means to give a picture of its actual condition, a task much too extensive and interesting to be accomplished within our present limits.

The edition of Demosthenes, mentioned at the head of this article, is entitled to the praise of great correctness. It has no other recommendation than its portable size; an advantage dearly purchased by the entire omission of notes, and the employment of a type too small and indistinct to be read without hazard, even by the strongest eyes. This latter defect is one, which has occurred so frequently in recent editions of standard works, both in our own and other languages, that it deserves to be particularly and strongly reprehended.

ART. V.—1. *Manners and Customs of several Indian Tribes, located west of the Mississippi, including some Account of the Soil, Climate and vegetable Productions; and the Indian Materia Medica; to which is prefixed the History of the Author's Life, during a Residence of several Years among them.* By JOHN D. HUNTER. 8vo. pp. 402. Philadelphia. 1823.

2. *Historical Notes respecting the Indians of North America, with Remarks on the Attempts made to convert and civilise them.* By JOHN HALKETT, Esq. 8vo. pp. 408. London. 1825.

MORE than three centuries have passed away, since the American continent became known to the Europeans. At the period of its discovery, it was inhabited by a race of men, in their physical conformation, their moral habits, their social and political relations, their languages and modes of life, differing essentially from the inhabitants of the old world. From Hudson's Bay to Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, the country was possessed by numerous petty tribes, resembling one another in their general features, but separated into independent communities, always in a state of alarm and suspicion, and generally on terms of open hostility. These people were in the rudest condition of society, wandering from place to place, without sciences and without arts, (for we cannot dignify with the name of arts the making of bows and arrows, and the dressing of skins,) without metallic instruments, without domestic animals; raising a little corn by the labor of their women, with a clamshell or the scapula of a buffalo, devouring it with true savage improvidence, and subsisting, during the remainder of the year, upon the precarious supplies furnished by the chase, and by fishing. They were thinly scattered over an immense extent of country, fixing their summer residence upon some little spot of fertile land, and roaming, with their families, and their mat or skin houses, during the winter, through the forests, in pursuit of the animals necessary for food and clothing.

Such a state of society could not but arrest the attention of the adventurer, to whom everything was new and strange. A spirit of inquiry had been recently awakened in Europe,

and the discovery of the mariner's compass, and the art of printing, had wonderfully enlarged the sphere of human observation, and given new vigor to the human faculties. And we find, accordingly, that the man of America soon became the subject of examination and speculation, and many a ponderous tome has been written on the topic, from the letter of Vereyzani to Francis the First, in 1524, down to the latest work manufactured in London, by some professional book maker, whose accurate knowledge of the Indian character and condition has been acquired, by profound observation within Temple bar, or who strings together the falsehoods of such men as the personage, who calls himself John Dunn Hunter; and whose *finale* is always a Jeremiad, upon the savage treatment of the aborigines of this continent, by their barbarous Anglo American neighbors.

In a retrospective examination of this mass of materials, it is easy to perceive, that the progress we have made in this interesting investigation, bears no proportion to the time and labor, which have been expended upon it; nor is it difficult to account for this unsatisfactory result.

Of the external habits of the Indians, if we may so speak, we have the most ample details. Their wars, their amusements, their hunting, and the more prominent facts connected with their occupations and condition, have been described with great prolixity, and doubtless with much fidelity, by a host of persons, whose opportunities for observation, and whose qualifications for description have been as different, as the places and the eras in which they have written. Eyes have not been wanting to see, nor tongues to relate, nor pens to record the incidents, which, from time to time, have occurred among our aboriginal neighbors. The eating of fire, the swallowing of daggers, the escape from swathed buffalo robes, and the juggling incantations and ceremonies, by which the dead are raised, the sick healed, and the living killed, have been witnessed by many, who related what they saw, but who were grossly deceived by their own credulity, and by the skill of the Indian *Waubeno*. We have ourselves, in the depth and solitude of our primeval forests, and among some of the wildest and most remote of our Indian tribes, gazed with ardent curiosity, and perhaps with some slight emotion of awe, upon the *Jongleur*, who with impudent dex-

terity performed feats, which probably it is wiser to witness than to relate. And when the surrounding naked and painted multitude, exulting in the imposing performance, and in the victory obtained over the incredulity of the white strangers, fixed their eyes upon us, and raised their piercing yell, breaking the sounds by the repeated application of the hand to the mouth, and dancing around us with the activity of mountebanks, and the ferocity of demons,

> 'We dare not say, that then our blood,
> Kept on its wont and tempered flood,'

nor that, under less favorable circumstances, the scene might not have been terrific, and impressed us with recollections, equally difficult to reject and to account for. And there can be no doubt, that similar scenes in other times, with proper 'appliances and means to boot,' have been the origin of most of those stories of Indian miracles and prophecies, which occupy so large a portion of the narratives of our earlier historians and travellers.

But of the moral character and feelings of the Indians, of their mental discipline, of their peculiar opinions, mythological and religious, and of all that is most valuable to man in the history of man, we are about as ignorant, as when Jacques Cartier first ascended the St Lawrence. The constitution of their society, and the ties, by which they are kept together, furnish a paradox, which has never received the explanation it requires. We say they have no government. And they have none, whose operation is felt either in rewards or punishments. And yet their lives and property are protected, and their political relations among themselves, and with other tribes, are duly preserved. Have they then no passions to excite them to deeds of violence, or have they discovered, and reduced to practice, some unknown principle of action in human nature, equally efficacious with the two great motives of hope and fear, upon which all other governments have heretofore rested? Why does an Indian, who has been guilty of murder, tranquilly fold his blanket about his head, and, seating himself upon the ground, await the retributive stroke from the relation of the deceased? A white man, under similar circumstances, would flee, or resist, and we can conceive of no motive, which would induce him to submit to such a sacrifice. Those Indians, who have mur-

dered any of our citizens, have generally surrendered themselves for trial. The Winebagoes convicted at Belleville, the Osages at the Post of Arkansas, and the seven persons now confined at Mackinac, for the murder of four American citizens upon Lake Pepin, in August 1824, freely delivered themselves to our authority, as necessary offerings for their own guilt, and to exonerate their tribes from suspicion or injury. And it is but a just tribute to the impartial execution of our laws to state, that the persons, who were guilty of the atrocious murder of a number of Indians, a few months since in Indiana, were convicted and executed in June last.

This result is, however, sometimes avoided, by an agreement on the part of the friends of the murdered person, to receive a present, instead of the life of the offender. It is the price of blood, and contributions are freely made to it by all the relations of the criminal. But its acceptance, or rejection, is purely voluntary, and as there is no obligation to receive, so no offence is given by refusing this peace offering. The victim dies, if the love of revenge is stronger than the love of property. In 1824, an Ottawa Indian was killed by a Miami. A formal negotiation was carried on between the two tribes, which finally resulted in the payment of five thousand dollars, by the latter to the former. It is worthy of remark, that the right to kill a murderer, without any preparatory demand, is confined to persons of the same tribe. When the criminal and the victim belong to different tribes, a demand must be made, previously to the adoption of any other measure, which if not satisfied, is followed by war.

Within the last year, we ourselves, far in the interior of the country, while surveying the initatory ceremonies of the Indian *meetay*, one of their mystical societies, saw a Chippewa, whose grave and serious demeanor attracted our observation. His appearance led to the inquiry, whether any peculiarity in his situation impressed upon his deportment the air of seriousness, which was too evident to be mistaken. It was ascertained, that he had killed a Potawatamie Indian, during the preceding season, and that the Potawatamies had made the usual demand for his surrender. On a representation, however, that he was deeply in debt, and that his immediate death would cause much injustice to some of the traders, the injured tribe at length agreed to postpone his

execution, till another season, that the produce of his winter's hunt might be applied to the discharge of his debts. He had been successful in his exertions, and had paid the claims against him. He was about to leave his friends, and to receive, with the fortitude of a warrior, the doom which awaited him. He was now, for the last time, enjoying the society of all who were dear to him. No man doubted his resolution, and no man doubted his fate. Instructions, however, were given to the proper agent, to redeem his life at the expense of the United States.

The solution of these moral difficulties, so perplexing in the present state of our knowledge, must be left for future inquirers. We cannot but hope, that the darkness will ere long be dispelled, and that we shall not be left to grope our way with such feeble lights, as serve only to make it the more visible.

It is easier, however, to estimate the difficulties, which have heretofore impeded the acquisition of full and correct information upon all subjects, connected with the past and present condition of the Indians, than it is to obviate them. The earlier and the principal writers on these topics were the Roman Catholic missionaries, who were sent by the French government, at a very early day, into Canada to convert the Indians to christianity. They were men of learning, zeal, and piety, abstracted from all selfish considerations, and wholly devoted to the great objects of their mission. They accompanied the Indians into every part of the country, submitted to unexampled privation, and lived and died with their Neophytes. Their opportunities were most favorable for procuring information, and had they been men of enlarged views, and of sound judgment, we should now have little more to desire. But, unfortunately, every object was seen through the medium of their prejudices, and of their peculiar religious opinions. There was a childish credulity about them, which we know not whether to attribute to their profession, to the age, or to the situations in which they were placed. Every fortunate incident was a miracle; and every uncommon natural occurrence was attributed to the direct interposition of the Deity. A modern French writer, in speaking upon this subject, very pertinently remarks, 'Je ne m'arrête ni à réfuter, ni à examiner de telles asser-

tions; il semble seulement que la religion véritable trouve, dans ses maladroits sectaires et dans ses prosélytes crédules, des ennemis plus à craindre, que dans ses ennemis les plus ouvertement déclarés.' Even Charlevoix, who was selected by the French government to travel over New France, and to prepare an account of that country, and who wrote so late as 1745, is not free from this superstition. In all other respects, he was a man admirably qualified to discharge the task assigned to him. Patient in investigation, cautious in his belief, and judicious in his observations, his narrative and history contain more sound views on the general subject of the Indians, than the works of all the writers, who preceded, or who have followed him.

In the British colonies, few attempts were made to rescue from approaching destruction, the memorials of the people, who occupied the Atlantic States at the period of the arrival of the Europeans. The aboriginal inhabitants of these colonies rapidly retreated, or disappeared, before the white settlements, nor did they ever evince those attachments to the English, which have marked the intercouse of the interior Indians with the Canadians. There was but little opportunity for doing anything, and but little in fact was done.

Unfortunately, too, for the progress of correct opinions, many of the works of the earlier writers, both English and French, were composed with a view to certain preconceived notions, respecting the origin of the aboriginal inhabitants of America. This was long a *questio vexata*, upon which much sense and nonsense were written, and which we trust no man will again have the folly to revive and discuss. Adair's heavy work is a striking example of the effect of this adaptation of facts to a favorite theory. His great object is to prove, that the Indians are descended from the Jews, and in the teeth of all probability, this object is steadily pursued through a large quarto. No dependence is to be placed upon his statements, where they can produce any effect upon this idle notion. No rational estimate can be formed of the character of any people, without viewing them at home, in their own country, engaged in their ordinary duties and occupations. This is peculiarly the case with the Indians. Those, who hang upon the white settlements, are worthless and abandoned. They have all the vices, without any of the

virtues of civilised and uncivilised life. They know nothing of their own history, nor of the nature of their institutions. Any information derived from them must be vague and unsatisfactory.

But the difficulty of surveying the Indians in their own country, is in direct proportion to its importance. They are jealous and suspicious, unwilling to associate with strangers, and slow to give them their confidence. Persons, unacquainted with them, and ignorant of their language, cannot reside with them, and follow them from camp to camp, through the vicissitudes of the seasons, and exposed to privations, which Indians only can provide against, or successfully encounter. A fortitude and zeal, which could meet and overcome these obstacles, are rarely found, and still more rarely applied to such pursuits.

But the great difficulty, in these investigations, results from the want of some medium of communication between the inquirer and the Indians. Most of the interpreters are of Canadian descent, and do not speak the English language, and none of them are competent, by their education or habits of thinking, to pursue a train of investigation to any practical result. In fact, they can neither comprehend difficulties, which present themselves, nor aid in their solution. In the scale of intellect, they are generally below the more intelligent Indian Chiefs; and all the idle legends of the tribe are received, and repeated by them, with the firmest conviction of their truth. Some progress may be made with their assistance, by interrogating the elder Indians, and by the observance of due caution, in the researches connected with their history, traditions, and manners. And by a tedious process of cross questioning, we may finally arrive at a reasonable probability. And this is the very Ultima Thule of our efforts, beyond which is an unknown region. Those, who reach it, must be more fortunate navigators, than we have been. Their opportunities cannot well be greater, nor their zeal and assiduity directed by stronger hopes of discovery.

But it is particularly in philological investigations, that the poverty of our means of communication is most perceptible, and most to be deplored. The perplexing labor of these pursuits can be fully understood by those only, who have made the experiment. A man, who has all his life said, 'I

go yesterday,' 'I go today,' 'I go tomorrow;' whose declarations, wishes, and commands, are expressed by the same word; and in whose conversation, there is no variation between action and passion, must be made to comprehend all the distinctions, both obvious and recondite, of tenses, moods, and voices. But notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the subject has been pursued with ardor by many persons, and by some, who are qualified to investigate and discuss it.

Governor Clinton's discourse on the history of the Iroquois, delivered before the New York Historical Society, is a performance, highly valuable for the authenticity of its details, for the clearness of its style, and for the sound and judicious remarks, with which it abounds. This succinct abstract has, also, the merit of being the first attempt at a historical account of any one of our Indian tribes, for Colden's work does not aspire to the dignity of history. It is a dry detail of facts, true, no doubt, but without a solitary reflection, calculated to arrest the attention of the reader, and without even an effort to connect causes with their events. It will, probably, be hereafter found, that the most effectual means of rescuing from destruction, the perishable and perishing memorials of the Indian character, will be to follow the example of Governor Clinton, to confine the attention to a single tribe, and trace their history and progress, through the writings of the French travellers, down to our own times.

Several expeditions have been recently despatched into the Indian country, charged, among other objects, to collect information respecting the condition of the Indians; the plan of which has been creditable to the government of the United States, while their execution has reflected honor on the gentlemen employed in these laborious tasks. The late work of Mr Schoolcraft, describing his travels in the central portions of the Mississippi valley, is marked with many original reflections, on subjects connected with the Indians. His opportunities for observation have been great, and it is evident, that they have not been neglected. His official station, and his local residence, are highly advantageous for further investigation, and we trust the same persevering application, which has heretofore characterised his literary labors, will enable him to fulfil the hopes of his friends, and the just expectations of his countrymen.

Major Long, and the gentlemen associated with him in his two expeditions, have furnished much valuable matter on these topics. The statistical facts, which they have reported, are highly valuable, and will be hereafter referred to, as important data in all general and comprehensive views, which may be taken of the then existing state of the Indians. A very laudable anxiety is manifested by these gentlemen, to procure and record every fact, which could aid them or their readers, in forming just conclusions on the various topics discussed in these works. But it is evident that they felt, and felt severely, the inconvenience of pursuing these speculations, even in the Indian country, without the aid of persons competent to interchange ideas between the red and the white man; and the history of the last expedition, particularly, should serve as a warning to future travellers, passing rapidly through the interior, against committing themselves by the discussion of questions affecting our aborigines, for a full consideration of which, much time, tedious and laborious investigations, and highly favorable opportunities, are essentially requisite. It is not every man, who has lost sight of the flag staff of an interior post, or who has seen a buffalo or a muskrat, that can add anything valuable to the immense stock of materials, which has been accumulating for more than three centuries.

The party under Major Long entered the Indian country, in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne, about the last of May, and left it in the beginning of October, at the Falls of St Mary. They traversed more than three thousand miles of interior country, between these points, and were occupied about four months in that part of their journey; a brief space, for the examination of the immense variety of objects, moral and physical, to which their researches were directed. Almost one third part of the history of the expedition is devoted to an account of the Indians, embracing the Sacs, the Potawatamies, the Sioux, and the Chippewas. This last tribe is at the head of the great Algonquin family of the French writers, and was formerly numerous and powerful; extending, even now, in its various ramifications, from Lake Erie to the Eskimaux, who inhabit the borders of the Frozen Ocean. Cursory remarks are also introduced, on the Miamies, Kickapoos, Menominies, and Winebagoes.

The information, from which these accounts were digested and prepared, was furnished by a few Indians, half breeds

and interpreters, whom they encountered upon their journey. These were, for the Potawatamies, Metea, a worthless drunken Potawatamie, and Barron, the interpreter at Fort Wayne, a weak, credulous man; for the Sacs, an Indian of that tribe; for the Sioux, Renville, a trader, who is connected with them by blood; and for the Chippewas, Bruce, a half breed, who speaks no English, and Tanner, who was taken by the Indians in early life, and speaks English very imperfectly. We know all these men well, except Bruce and the Sac Indian; and we know, from our own intercourse with them, that little reliance is to be placed on the judgment of some, and on the veracity of others. Renville is the most intelligent, and even his opinions must be received with great caution. By devoting ample time to the subject, valuable information might be extracted from them, after their confidence was fully gained; and by personal observation and minute inquiries, true and fabulous statements might be separated. But every person, in the slightest degree acquainted with the credulity and prejudices of Indians and Indian interpreters, must know, that answers hastily given to numerous interrogatories, submitted by strangers, passing rapidly through the country, are entitled to very little credit. By some the questions would be misunderstood, and the subject by others; and the ceaseless jealousy and suspicion, which never leave an Indian, would lead to many a wilful misrepresentation.

Surely the intelligent gentlemen, who composed that expedition, will not demand from the readers of its history, their implicit belief in accounts thus collected and reported. The task would be ungrateful in itself, and peculiarly disagreeable to us, to point out the numerous errors of fact and opinion, into which they have been led. We must, however, in justice to our own *national character*, restrict the application of the contemptuous comparison, mentioned in the second volume, (p. 168,) to the sense in which it is used by the Chippewas. It is there stated, that when anything awkward or foolish is done, the Chippewas say, *Wametegogin gegakepatese*, which signifies, 'as stupid as a white man.' The expression used on these occasions is, 'as stupid as a Frenchman.'

Like Frenchman as fool.
Ketchewa Waamitikozheengk aashee Kekeepauteseet.

There is one remark in the work, so general in its application, that if not corrected, it may hereafter lead to important

errors in the investigation of the affinities of the different tribes. It is said, the 'Totem' is a distinguishing characteristic between the nations of the Algonquin family and those of the Sioux. The Potawatamies are stated, and correctly, to have the *Totem*, but 'not to be divided into tribes, designated by the names of animals, as is reported to be the case with the Missouri Indians, but they are distinguished merely from their local habitations.' Now the *Totem* is the armorial badge or bearing of each tribe, into which the various nations are divided. It is the representation of the animal, from which the tribe is named. This is not the place to discuss the principles and objects of this institution. It is one of the most important in aboriginal polity, and its full developement would lead to new views and opinions. Its operation is felt in religious ceremonies, in the laws regulating marriages, and in the succession and election of civil, or, as they are called, Village Chiefs. If one of the tribes has a right to furnish the Chief, the others have a right to elect him.

The tribes are named from the Eagle, the Hawk, the Beaver, the Buffalo, and from all the 'beasts of the field, the fowls of the air,' and the fishes of the rivers and lakes. The succession in the tribes is in the female line, and the figure of the sacred animal is the *Totem*, which every individual of the tribe affixes, whenever his mark is necessary, or wherever he wishes to leave a memorial of himself. This beloved symbol adheres to him in death, and is painted upon the post, which marks his grave. We consider it by no means certain, that the Sioux have no *Totem*. We have conversed with Renville on this subject, and discussed it with him, and with Blondeau, a half breed Fox, perfectly well acquainted with the Mississippi Indians. Blondeau led us to believe, that the institution exists among the Sioux; although perhaps its primitive character and objects are changed, and his observations appeared to shake the opinion of Renville.

But it is certain, that the *Totem* is not confined to the Algonquin family. It is in full operation among the Wyandots and Iroquois, whose language is as different from that of the Algonquin Indians, as the latter is from the Sioux.

In dismissing this subject, we shall merely express the hope, that in any future similar undertaking, to which the gentlemen, engaged in this expedition may be called, they may carry

to the task the same zeal, spirit, and intelligence, which they have already displayed, with more favorable opportunities for their exertion, and with at least a moderate portion of skepticism.

But we must conclude these remarks, which have already extended to an unreasonable length, and proceed to an examination of other works, especially Mr Heckewelder's, and those whose titles are prefixed to this article. From the subjects of which they respectively treat, we shall be naturally led to a consideration of the three great interesting topics, which relate to our Indians; namely, their past and present condition; their languages; and the efforts, which have been and should be made, for their moral and physical melioration.

The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, animated by a very laudable desire to place upon record all the information, within their reach, on topics connected with the Indians, instituted certain inquiries, the result of which is contained in the first volume of their Historical and Literary Transactions. This information is derived from Mr. Heckewelder, and consists of his general account of the Delaware tribe, contained in a series of chapters, and a partial analysis of the Delaware language, principally given in an epistolary form, in a correspondence between himself and Mr Duponceau, a distinguished member of the Society, in which correspondence the former is the teacher, and the latter presents himself as the scholar. This kind of written dialogue is liable to serious objections, in grave discussions, where the efforts of the writer, and the attention of the reader should remain unbroken. And notwithstanding the example of Horne Tooke, in the Diversions of Purley, we are prone to the belief, that a little more effort on the part of Mr Duponceau would have enabled him to remodel the correspondence, and combine his questions with the answers of Mr Heckewelder, in such a manner as sensibly to reduce the size of the book, and make a stronger impression on the reader.

Mr Heckewelder was a worthy, zealous Moravian Missionary, who devoted his life, and it was not a short one, to the great cause of Indian missions, and that with more zeal than effect, if we can judge from the character and conduct of the Indians, who belonged to his mission, and who are now under the superintendence of a Moravian clergyman, on La Rivière

à la Tranche, in Upper Canada. He was a man of moderate intellect, and of still more moderate attainments; of great credulity, and with strong personal attachments to the Indians. His entire life was passed among the Delawares, and his knowledge of the Indian history and character was derived wholly from them. The Delaware tribe was the first and the last object of his hopes. Every legendary story of their former power, and of their subsequent fall, such as the old men repeat to the boys, in the long winter evenings, was received by him in perfect good faith, and has been recorded with all the gravity of history. It appears never to have occurred to him, that these traditionary stories, orally repeated from generation to generation, may have finally borne very little resemblance to the events they commemorate, nor that a Delaware could sacrifice the love of truth to the love of his tribe. To those, who know something about Indian traditions, nothing can be more unsatisfactory, than these details, unless they are corroborated by the accounts of the early travellers, or by concurrent circumstances. Mr Heckewelder's naïveté is really amusing; and we now look back, with the soberness of experience, to the time, when, in his own house, upon the Tuscarawas, we were as anxious to hear as he was to relate, the marvellous events of his intercourse with the Indians; and when both narrator and hearer believed all that was told, and frequently in an inverse proportion to its probabity. We esteemed the man when living, and we cherish his memory now he is dead.

And yet with much valuable information, which his book contains, and notwithstanding the purest intentions with which it was written, perhaps no work, that has appeared for half a century, has produced more erroneous impressions on this subject. Mr Heckewelder thought, and reasoned, like an Indian and a Delaware. In all the contests between the whites and their neighbors, he adopted the train of feeling of the latter. He looked solely at their wrongs, and surely they have been enough, without recollecting the horrible atrocities, which from time to time excited the frontier settlers to deeds of revenge, and, we may add, of vengeance. He looks back to some golden age, when all was peace, and plenty, and innocence; and when the Delawares, the *Grandfathers*, as he styles them, of all the Indians, exercised a paternal control over

them. All this may have been so, but there is not the slightest reason to believe it. At the time of the arrival of the Europeans, and, in all probability, long before, the golden and the brazen ages of Indian history had passed away, and had been succeeded, as in other countries, by an age of iron. The various petty tribes were in a state of constant war; of bloody, exterminating war; of war, as in all after times, which knew no distinction of age, sex, or condition. And their own situation and traditions, the offensive and defensive armor which was used, and the numberless fortifications scattered through the country, prove, that this last and worst curse, which could befal them, had been operating for ages.

The bounties of Providence, offered to these deluded people for their comfort and subsistence, on the land and in the water, were wilfully rejected for pursuits, which rendered it unsafe to traverse their forests, or to resort to their rivers and lakes. By Mr Heckewelder's own account, the Delawares were intruders in the Ohio and Atlantic countries, and obtained possession by the extermination of their predecessors.

But independently of these more general views, which led Mr Heckewelder, in all the wars between the whites and the Indians, to see nothing but a contest of strength and avarice on one side, and of weakness and poverty on the other; his personal predilections for the Delawares, and, we may add, his opportunities of intercourse, which were confined to them, gave a strong bias to his judgment on all questions affecting them. Many of his assertions and conclusions are utterly irreconcilable, not only with the most authentic accounts, which have reached us, but with the traditions of other tribes, and with well known circumstances, in which the Delawares have been placed. In fact, his history, if true, would unhinge all our knowledge upon these subjects, and would destroy every vestige of confidence in the early French authors, who wrote almost two centuries ago, under favorable circumstances for observation; and whose knowledge of the Indians extended to every tribe east of the Mississippi, and west of the Allegany mountains. It is not probable, that Mr Heckewelder had the means of comparing these statements with the traditions of the Delawares. He quotes but two or three of them, and these for other purposes. One he designates *Father* La Hontan, doubtless by an oversight.

La Hontan was a soldier by profession, a skeptic in principle, and a very Münchausen in the narrative of his adventures. His whole account of the Long River is an impudent fiction, utterly irreconcilable with the known geography of the country; and his character is well drawn by Charlevoix. This author says, that the great liberty, which La Hontan gave to his pen, contributed much to make his book read and sought after by those, who could not tell to what a degree truth and falsehood were confounded in it; and adds, that an intimate knowledge of the history of Canada is necessary to enable a reader to separate one from the other. 'In short,' continues Charlevoix, 'almost all his proper names are mangled, the greater portion of his facts are disfigured, and entire episodes are inserted, which are pure fictions, such as the voyage on the Long River, not less fabulous than the isle of Barataria, of which Sancho Panza was made governor.' 'En effet presque tous les noms propres y sont estropiés, la plûpart des faits y sont défigûres, et l'on y trouve des épisodes entiers, qui sont des pures fictions, tel qu'est le voyage sur la Riviére Longue, aussi fabuleuse, que l'Isle Barataria, dont Sancho Pansa fut fait le gouverneur.'

The effect of Mr Heckewelder's work, upon the prevailing notions respecting Indian history, is every day more and more visible. It has furnished materials for the writers of periodical works, and even of *history;* and in one of those beautiful delineations of American scenery, incidents, and manners, for which we are indebted to the taste and talent of our eminent novelist, 'the last of the Mohegans' is an Indian of the school of Mr Heckewelder, and not of the school of nature.* To counteract these erroneous opinions, we shall enumerate some of the more prominent errors, into which

* An anecdote has just gone the round of the papers, which admirably illustrates this misapplication of the feelings and sentiments of civilised life to the Indians. In the account of the introduction of Red Jacket to Lafayette, it is said, that Lafayette asked him, where was the young Seneca, who, in 1784, at Fort Schuyler, so eloquently opposed the burying of the tomahawk. 'The old warrior replied, with all his native peculiarity, "He has the honor to stand before you."' Native peculiarity indeed! This might suit a Parisian dancing master. If such a question were ever put to Red Jacket, we venture to say, he struck his breast, elevated himself, and exclaimed, *Eeh!* It is not a month since we saw, in a respectable paper, an account of a society among the Menomonies, to which persons were admitted by ballot, and where all the ballots must be unanimous to authorise admission!

the author has fallen; contenting ourselves with the tribute we have already paid to the memory of Mr Heckewelder, and to the merits of the work.

The orthography adopted for the name, by which the Delawares distinguished themselves, *Lenni Lenape*, is not correct, and conveys a very erroneous idea of the sound. It should be written *Lenee Lenaupé*, with the accent on the last syllable, and a strong expiration of the breath; conveying a sound, which has no exact representative in the English alphabet. Mr Heckewelder indulges himself in much speculation, concerning the meaning of these words. *Lenno*, he says, is man, and *Lenape*, original. *Lenee* is undoubtedly used by the Delawares, in a restricted sense, to signify man. But its more general and proper meaning, is male. Our word *original* conveys an improper idea of the Delaware word Lenaupé. Its true meaning is *common;* and it is applied to such objects, either of nature or of art, as are of common occurrence. Thus, *Aughkweeyun* is cloth, and *Lenee Aughkweeyun*, is common cloth, such as the Indians ordinarily use. *Piyaughkeekun* is a gun, and *Lenee Piyaughkeekun*, is a fusil, or common gun, as contradistinguished from a rifle. The signification of *original*, given by Mr Heckewelder to the word *Lenaupé*, furnishes him with an argument to support his favorite theory, that the Delawares are the stock from which all the other Indians descended.* Even if this application were well established, it would only evince a little national vanity, too common and too harmless for serious examination. A similar instance is found in a remote tribe under the arctic circle, who, according to Captain Franklin, designate themselves, *the People*.†

No inconsiderable portion of this work is devoted to a description of the claims, advanced by the Delawares to a superiority over the other Indians, and to a recapitulation of their traditions upon this subject. Had the author's acquaintance with the various tribes been more general, he would have known, that these claims were too frequent among them

* There seems to be much confusion in Mr Heckewelder's own ideas of the name in question, as may be seen by comparing the passages in which he speaks of it. See pp. 25, 368, 412.

† Franklin's Narrative, p. 142.

to be entitled to much consideration. The traditions of almost all of them bear too evident marks of national partiality, to be received without due caution. The patronymic name, *Grandfather*, applied by most of the tribes to the Delawares, and so much relied upon by Mr Heckewelder, furnishes no ground for the conclusion which he draws. The family appellations, given by various tribes to one another, cannot be traced to any relations, which have subsisted between them, since their history has been known to us. This is a curious subject, and involved in much obscurity. Perhaps a full consideration of it might lead to important conclusions. They seem to have considered themselves members of one family, standing in different degrees of relation to one another. Of this family, the Wyandot tribe is the elder brother. All the other tribes, except the Delaware, acknowledge this claim of primogeniture, on the part of the Wyandots. The Delawares call them *uncle*, and this relation is acknowledged by the use of the corresponding term *nephew*. The terms, *grandfather* and *grandchildren*, are interchangeably used between the other tribes and the Delawares. Of those, some are brothers, and some younger brothers. And it is not a little remarkable, that these claims of kindred seem to have no connexion with the present languages spoken by the Indians. We should naturally expect, that the most remote relations would be found subsisting between tribes, whose languages are radically different ; being probably descended from different stocks, or from the same stock at very different intervals.

We place no reliance on the traditionary narrative, given by the Delawares, of their early migrations. Of all sources of information these legendary tales are the most uncertain.* How many accounts have been given by the Indians, of the former existence of the mammoth, and of the period and circumstances of their extinction? Every reader will recollect the speech in the 'Notes on Virginia,' respecting the escape of the last of the species. And yet all these pretended traditions must have been mere fictions, probably in-

* In the second volume of Major Long's first expedition, page 371, in a report from that officer to the War Department, are some sound and judicious observations, concerning the value of Indian traditions. They accord entirely with our observation, and we recommend their perusal to all, who are disposed to give much credit to these legends.

vented to satisfy the inquiries of the white man. Geologists are now teaching us, that these remains are wrecks of the antediluvian world.

The account given by the Delawares, of the destruction of the *Allegewi*, is probably entitled to similar credit. The derivation of the present name of the Allegany river from that word may be correct. Our information does not enable us to form an opinion upon this point. But it adds little to the probability of the story, which it is introduced to support, if it be as erroneous as the derivation of the word *Mississippi*. Mr Heckewelder derives this from *Namæs*, a fish, and *Sipu*, river. A most unfortunate appellation for the Mississippi, unless it is intended to denote, that very few fish are found in it. The fact is, the name is derived from two Chippewa words, *Meesee*, great, and *Seepee*, river. This word *Meesee*, or *Meechee*, for it is differently pronounced in different places, is found in Michigan, Michilimackinac, Missouri, Mississaugau, and in many other names.

The ancient fortifications, scattered through the United States, and attributed by Mr Heckewelder to these Allegewi, have been the fruitful source of abundant speculation. We have no doubt, that they were erected by the forefathers of the present Indians, as places of refuge against the incursions of their enemies, and of security for their women and children, when they were compelled to leave them for the duties of the chase.* And much of the mystery, in which this subject has been involved, owes its origin to a want of due consideration of the circumstances and condition of the Indians. We do not reflect on their almost infinite division into petty tribes, and on their hereditary and exterminating hostilities. Nor have we reflected, that the stone tomahawk is a very inefficient instrument for cutting timber into palisades; nor that, if fire be adopted as a substitute, the process is tedious and laborious. Their transportation, too, must have been a serious objection to their use, and in a few years they required renewal. Even when otherwise proper, they were always liable to be burned by the enemy. These circum-

* Wherever the human race is placed, similar circumstances lead to similar customs. Dr Clarke remarks, that, 'a peculiar circumstance characterised the topography of ancient Greece. Every metropolis possessed its citadel and plain; the citadel as a place of refuge during war, the plain as a source of agriculture during peace.'

stances render it probable, that the erection of earthen parapets was the most economical and desirable mode, in which the Indians could provide for the security of themselves, and of those, who were most dear to them. And their migratory habits will sufficiently account for the number of these works, without resorting to the existence of a dense population, utterly irreconcilable with the habits of a people, who have not yet passed the hunter state of life. But a full consideration of this topic would carry us far beyond the limits of this article.

The history of the former power of the Delawares, and of the manner in which the sceptre departed from them, is almost too puerile for grave criticism. That an Indian tribe, while in the full career of victory, should be stopped, by a proposition from their rivals and enemies to become women, to put on a petticoat, or *matchicoaté*, the last degradation to which a warrior could submit, requires a degree of credulity greater than has fallen to our lot. This story is utterly irreconcilable with all previous accounts. The Delawares, two centuries ago, were a comparatively feeble tribe, occupying the eastern portion of Pennsylvania. They had yielded to the power of the Iroquois, the Romans of this part of the continent. These facts are stated by the Iroquois, and are corroborated by a thousand circumstances. It is not necessary to adduce the proofs here. Many of them will be found in the discourse of Governor Clinton, to which we have before referred. It will there be seen, that the powerful Iroquois confederacy had obtained a preponderating influence over all the Indians, who surrounded them, and that they carried dismay and death from the St Lawrence to the Mississippi.

Mr Heckewelder expresses his wonder, that the French historians took no notice of the Delawares. This tribe, however, is sometimes mentioned by them under the name of *Loups*, and not of *Lenape*, as he was informed by a *French gentleman*. This term, *Loups*, like the *Chat sauvage*, applied to the Shawnese, was, at first, probably a mere *sobriquet*, accidentally given, and continued, because it enabled the French to converse about the Indians, in their own presence, and without their knowledge. These names had no relation, as Mr Heckewelder supposes, to the name of any particular

tribe. In like manner, and with similar views, the Dahcotah were called Sioux; the Hochunkerah, Puans; the Wyandots, Hurons; the Menomonies, Folles Avoines; the Chippewas, Sauteurs; and all the others had similar masked appellations. But a sufficient reason for the little figure made by the Delawares, in the early histories, will be found in the total loss of their power and influence, and in the disgraceful necessity of passing *sub jugo* before their enemies. Their own account of this transaction is a nursery tale, by which a fallen people endeavor to conceal from others, and perhaps from themselves, the story of their defeat and disgrace.

We did intend to advert to other important errors, into which Mr Heckewelder has been led by his partial knowledge of the Indian tribes, and by the unbounded confidence he placed in the stories of his Delaware friends. Not certainly, on our part, in any captious temper, but merely to guard the reader against too implicit confidence in general results, when important details are thus obviously erroneous. Among these is his brief account of the Wyandots, formerly, we are inclined to believe, at the head of all the Indians, and holding the great Council Fire; and yet claiming the first seat and signature at all treaties. Of a similar nature is his account of Tecumthé,* whom he confounds with the Prophet. They were brothers, but as different in their characters, as they have been in their fate. The conversation between Colonel Crawford and Wingenund, is, we have reason to believe, wholly apocryphal. It accords as little with our notions of Indian sentiments, as it does with the account we have received of this melancholy catastrophe from other quarters.† But we are admonished, by the task yet before us, to bring these observations to a close, and to submit to our readers a few brief remarks, on the philological discussions contained in this work.

* The name of this celebrated chief has usually been written in this country, *Tecumseh*, but the true orthography is *Tecumthé*, as in the text, and as it is correctly written by the Canadian and English writers.

† The dialogue between Crawford and Wingenund, occupies three pages of the book. No white man was, or could be, present to hear or to record it. It contains quite a logical argument between the Indian Chief, and the victim at the stake, respecting the justice of the approaching execution. 'Had you,' says Wingenund, 'attended to the Indian principle, that as good and evil cannot dwell together in the same heart,' &c. This *Indian principle* is new to us,

Mr Heckewelder divides the languages, spoken by our Indian tribes, into four great classes, which he denominates the *Karalit*, the *Iroquois*, the *Lenape*, and the *Floridian*.* With the first class we have no concern. It is spoken only by the Eskimaux. The others are intended to comprehend all the dialects, which are found in this part of the continent.

The great division of the French writers was into the *Huron*, the *Algonquin*, and the *Sioux* languages; and the first reflection, which strikes us, is, whether anything is gained by this new classification. Of the dialects spoken in the south, and which Mr Heckewelder denominates Floridian, such as the Creek, the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Chickasaw, we know too little to hazard an opinion; and far too little presumptuously to determine, whether they are primitive or derivative. Ignorance is preferable to error, and as Mr Heckewelder furnishes no authority for this branch of his general synopsis, and acknowledges (p. 113) 'that we know very little about the southern Indians,' we may safely dismiss, for some future opportunity, all considerations connected with them. They may, or they may not, be radically different from the other languages.

and it would be difficult to find it, either speculatively or practically, in any other place, than this Delaware school of ethics. Crawford asks Wingenund if their former friendship still continued; to which the latter very stoically replies, 'It would be the same, were you in your proper place and not here.'

In page 311, in another dialogue, an Indian is made to say, 'I am a kind of Chief;' and p. 313, 'How much meat would my wife have dried, how much tallow saved and sold, or exchanged for salt, flour, tea, and chocolate!' He, who can believe that such conversations actually took place, must be left to correct his opinions in the school of experience.

Tarhé, or the Crane, the late principal Chief of the Wyandots, and one of the most respectable Indians whom we ever knew, has more than once related to us all the incidents attending the death of Colonel Crawford. Wingenund and the Delawares, in the circumstances preceding that transaction, did not occupy the stations assigned them in Mr Heckewelder's history. The Wyandots fought the battle and gained the victory. They, however, relinquished the murder of Crawford to the Delawares, because the latter were importunate in their demands for his surrender to them.

Tarhé, or the Crane, is the Chief, who is stated by Mr Heckewelder to have murdered Leather Lips, in obedience to the orders of the Prophet. No order was ever issued by the Prophet to Tarhé. The rank, character, and authority of the Wyandot Chief forbade such an interposition, and his feelings and principles would have prevented his interference, had the attempt been made to influence him. Leather Lips was killed during the delusion, which prevailed among the Indians, after their general convocation at Greenville, to hear the doctrines of the Prophet.

* See Heckewelder's Historical Account, Chap. IX.

The Huron, or as Mr Heckewelder terms it, the Iroquois, is certainly one of the original languages spoken by the Indians of the United States. It is confined to the Wyandots, the Iroquois, and their kindred tribes. The attempt to reduce the Sioux language, under the same general head, could have originated only in the very defective materials, which Mr Heckewelder possessed. The languages comprehended in that class, and spoken by the Sioux, the Winebagoes, the Joways, the Ottos, the Missouries, are radically different from the Huron. And what reason is given, for this dismission of one of the general divisions of the received classification, and for ranging the Hurons and Sioux as branches of the same family? No vocabulary is inserted or referred to; nothing but the *sic volo* to satisfy the inquirer. In page 390, indeed, the facts are given by Mr Heckewelder, in support of this hypothesis, and most strange they are. It is there suggested, that the Naudowessies or Sioux, and the Hurons or Wyandots, are the same people, because there are three rivers, which we call Huron, and which the Chippewas call Naduwewi, or Naudowessie Sipi, in the vicinity of Detroit.

Nautowa is the Chippewa name for the Wyandots, and Assigona for the Iroquois. In the plural *Nautowake* and *Assigonake*. Their true name for the Sioux is *Bwoinuk;* but Naudowessie is the Chippewa word for *enemy*, and as the Sioux have for generations carried on war against them, this appellation is sometimes emphatically given to them by the Chippewas. The name of the rivers referred to by Mr Heckewelder is Nautowa Sepe, or *River of the Wyandots*, and probably took its rise from some local occurrence connected with them. The Sioux and the Wyandots, as we can testify from our own observation, are different from each other in appearance, local residence, many important traits of character and manners, languages, and in everything, which, in the present state of our knowledge, constitutes Indian national identity.

Mr Duponceau's opinion of the harmony and music of the Wyandot language struck us as remarkable. Of all the languages spoken by man, since the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel, it least deserves this character. It is harsh, guttural, and undistinguishable; filled with intonations, that seem to start from the speaker with great pain and effort. It

is a well known fact, that no man ever became master of it, after he had arrived at years of maturity; and its acquisition is universally considered upon the frontier as a hopeless task. We cannot but suspect our friends, 'Armstrong and Walker,' of *playing old soldiers*, and giving a mellifluous twang to their speech, to which it had no legitimate pretensions.

Mr Duponceau displays much philological acuteness, and an entire knowledge of the principles of universal grammar; and he deserves great credit for the ardor, with which he has devoted himself to these tedious and laborious investigations, many of which are ably and successfully conducted. But he is evidently much given to classification; he began these inquiries apparently with a strong predisposition for admiration, and with high expectations, that new and important principles would be developed. 'What,' says he, 'would Tibullus or Sappho have given, to have had at their command a word at once so tender and so expressive!' And what is the word, which has such power to kindle his enthusiasm? It is one, which, in its true orthography, if it sounds to the Muses as it does to our dull ears, would put to flight every poetical effusion; *Wulamalessohalian*, 'Thou who makest me happy.' The word should be written and pronounced, *Walemulsoo-hauleun*, or *Walemulsoo hauleun*, for we are strongly inclined to think, that liberties have been taken in these combinations, not wholly justified by the Delaware language. The infinitive of the verb is said, by Mr Duponceau, as quoted from Zeisberger, to be Wulamalessohen, 'to make happy.' Hence,

Wulamalessohalid,	He who makes me happy.
Wulamalessohalquon,	He who makes thee happy.
Wulamalessohalat,	He who makes him happy.
Wulamalessohalian,	Thou who makest me happy.

As the only variations, by which the pronouns are expressed in these cases, are *alid*, *alquon*, *alat*, *alian*, these must respectively mean, 'he who me,' 'he who thee,' 'he who him,' 'thou who me.' There are no pronominal affixes, nor do either of these syllables indicate the separable, or inseparable pronominal suffixes. There is no word for *who*, in the whole range of the Indian languages, as far as we are acquainted with them, and there is certainly none in the Delaware. Into whatever elements these terminations may be resolved, the meaning, rendered necessary by the subjoined

translations, cannot be given to them. There is, through the whole book, such a want of precision in the translations, and such a confusion of Delaware and Munsee words, as render the deductions very unsatisfactory.

Mr Heckewelder's reply to Mr Duponceau's inquiries, respecting some analagous word in the Delaware, to the word *morituri* in Latin, affords another illustration in point. He seems unwilling, that any syntactical forms should be found, which do not exist in the Delaware, and produces examples *pari passu*. Not certainly with the slightest disposition to misrepresent, but because the subject was not very familiar to him, and because slight analogies are easily traced between languages, the most remote in their principles. Mr Heckewelder says, (p. 423,) that there is a Delaware word, *Elumiangellatschik*, which means, 'those who are on the point of dying, or who are about to die.' The word meant to be written here, is Alumeeungelutcheek, but it has been evidently formed to meet the case, and formed upon erroneous principles. *Alemee* is an adverb, and means *about*. Mr Heckewelder calls it *Elumi*, and says it is derived from the verb *N'dallemi*, which means, 'I am going about (something.') *N'dallemi Wickheen*, 'I am going to build.' There is no such verb in the Delaware language as *dallemi*. The *N'* is the pronominal sign of *Nee*, *I*. The *d* is inserted in all cases after this sign, where the next word begins with a vowel. *Alemee* is the adverb, which generally, in the arrangement of Indian sentences, precedes the verb. *Ungelukeek* is from *Ungel*, to die, with the pronominal sign suffixed, *ukeek*, or *keek*, they, which we believe is confined in this form to neuter verbs, and retains or drops the *u*, as euphony may require. *Tsh*, which indicates the future, is not used in this combination. The word *Alemee* sufficiently indicates, that the time is about to commence. The word, therefore, intended to be formed by Mr Heckewelder, should be written *Alemee ungelukeek*, and, literally translated, means, 'about they die.' So much for analogy.

There is, in all our Indian languages, a strong tendency to combination. We believe they were originally monosyllabic in their formation, and extremely limited in their application. Even now at least one fourth part of the Chippewa words are monosyllables. As the poverty of these languages be-

came apparent, and necessity required the introduction of new terms, they were formed by the combination of words already existing. It is not easy to define the limits of this principle, nor to analyse the rules of its application. Some letters are omitted, and the changes are frequently so great, as to render it difficult to reduce the word to its original elements. Mr Heckewelder has given many examples of this process, but too often with the negligence, which characterises his work. Mr Duponceau exclaims in a quotation from Göethe, 'O how a nation is to be envied, that can express such delicate shades of thought in one single word.' Here follow other examples.

Machelemuxowagan,	Honor, the being honored.
Gettemagelemuxowagan,	The receiving favor, mercy, tenderness.
Mamschalgussiwagan,	The being held in remembrance.
Amangachgenimgussowagan,	The being raised or elevated by praise.
Mamamchtschimgussowagan,	The being insulted.

Pronounce these who can. We eschew the task. It is idle to talk of such words. Every language may have as many, as the most ecstatic philologist could require. It is only to combine the words together, and when the combination ceases, there is an end to the compound word, and not before. But little would be gained for the ear, or the mind, by such a process.

In page 368, we have,

Wuskilenno,	A young man,
Kigeyilenno,	An aged man,
Gichtochqueu,	An aged woman.

Wooskee is *young*, and Lunno is *man*, and the word given as a combination by Mr Heckewelder is pronounced *Wooskee lunno*, and is as much two words, as young man in the English language. 'Kigeyilenno' should be written *Khiki*, old, *Lunno*, man. 'Gichtochqueu' should be *Khiki*, old, *Ohkwaa*, (not Ochqueu,) woman. The unsettled orthography adopted in this work conveys to the reader very imperfect notions of the sounds of the words.

In the translation of works from one language to another, it is commonly the object of the translator to preserve the spirit

of his author, and to avoid the introduction of foreign idioms. But in inquiries into the comparative principles of different languages, words should be literally rendered; and this precision can alone give value to these investigations. Mr Heckewelder has violated this rule, and to such a degree as greatly to impair the utility of his work.

In page 422, *Eliwulek* is said to be, 'He who is above everything.' The expression should be Aloo Woolituk, from *Aloowee*, more, and *Woolit*, good. The *uk* is the mark of the superlative degree; so that *Aloo woolituk* is 'most good.' *Eluwantowit* is translated, 'God above all.' The word should be *Aloo wontoowit*, and is formed from *Aloowee*, more, and *Katunatoowit*, a compound, of whose elements we are ignorant, but which means God; so that *Aloo wontoowit* is, 'more God.'

Eluwiahoalgussit is translated, 'The beloved of all things,' (p. 423.) It should be Aloowee ahoalkooseet, 'more he is loved.' *Eluwitschanessik* is said to be, 'the strongest of all.' It should be Aloowee tsharnesseek, 'more he is strong.' *Eluwischiechsit*, 'the supremely good,' should be Alooweek sheekseet, 'most he is good.'

Again, (p. 454,) it is said, that *N'dellemuske* means, 'I am going away.' This word is formed from the pronominal sign *N'*, *I*, the adverb *Alemee*, about, and *bumskau*, go, and should be rendered, 'I about go.' So *Ickalli áal* is said to be, 'away with you.' *Ikarle* means there, and *awl* is a verb, which means to go or come, properly, *to move*, and this expression should be translated, 'there move.'

In page 458, *N'dapi áman*, is rendered, 'I come from fishing with a hook and line.' *Aman* on the same page is rendered a fish hook. So that the word *Aman*, must mean fishing with a hook and line, and a fish hook. But this incongruity is to be found, not in the Delaware language, but in Mr Heckewelder's book, and results from the unjustifiable liberties taken with the translation. *N'dapi* does not mean, 'to come from.' That idea implying locomotion is conveyed by the word *Noom*, I come. *N'dapi* implies the termination of a recent act; and *Aman* is simply a fish hook. The words cannot with any propriety be used together. *Naumase* is a fish, and the participial form of that word should have

been used here, as it is upon the same page, where he says, 'I am come from taking fish with a spear,' *N'dapi notamæsi.*

In the next page several examples are given of the use of the addition *ink.*

Gauwáhenink,	At the place of fallen timbers.
Pachséyink,	In the valley.
Gámink,	On the other side of the river.

The *ink* in these instances is translated *at*, *in*, and *on*. It is neither of these, but is a mere sign of locality. A Delaware cannot express that operation of the verb upon the object, which is indicated in many of the ancient languages, by inflections, or cases, and in the modern, by prepositions. He cannot discriminate between, *in* the house, and *out* of the house, and *over* the house, and *under* the house. This strange poverty in languages, abounding with many useless variations, is supplied by gesticulation only; and no man has ever seen an Indian in conversation, without being sensible, that the head, and the hands, and the body, are all put in requisition to aid the tongue in the performance of its appropriate duty.

In our Indian languages, we have almost everything yet to learn. Till within a few years, our whole stock of information comprised only a few meagre vocabularies, collected here and there, and written with such an unsettled orthography, as to render them almost useless. Recently the subject has excited greater attention, and several grammars, with more or less merit, have been published. We trust these inquiries will be pursued, and at all events, that this almost only enduring memorial of Indian existence, will not be suffered to pass away unheeded and forgotten.

The range of thought of our Indian neighbors is extremely limited. Of abstract ideas they are almost wholly destitute. They have no sciences, and their religious notions are confused and circumscribed. They have but little property, less law, and no public offences. They soon forget the past, improvidently disregard the future, and waste their thoughts, when they do think, upon the present. The character of all original languages must depend, more or less, upon the wants, means, and occupations, mental and physical, of the people who speak them, and we ought not to expect to find the complicated refinements of polished tongues, among those of our Indians. He, who sits down to these investigations with such

an expectation, will certainly rise from his task disappointed. It would lead us too far to give even a brief analysis of any of these languages, or to enumerate those particulars, in which they are most deficient, and which render them, in all the business of life, indeterminate in their application.

It is, however, not a little singular, that some complicated forms and strange redundancies should be found, of which it is difficult to trace the origin, or to assign the object. Among these are the combinations, by which the pronouns, actor and subject, are associated with the verb. One is prefixed, and the other suffixed; and the latter is generally inseparable in its form. The active verbs cannot be used without this personal association. An Indian cannot say, 'I love,' 'I hate,' 'I fear,' abstracted from the operation of the verb upon the object. He must say, 'friend I love him;' 'enemy I hate him;' 'bear I fear him.'

It is stated in the work under notice, (p. 378,) that *N'dahoala* means 'I love,' and it is placed in the present tense of the indicative mood. On the same page, and in the first personal form, *N'dahoala* is said to be, 'I love him or her.' Such is the spirit of accommodation in which examples are furnished! The latter, however, is the true meaning of the word, and no Indian, we have reason to believe, certainly no Delaware, can express the former idea.

These combinations give to the Delaware verbs what has been called, 'the richness of their grammatical forms.' But they are certainly useless appendages, adding no precision to the language, condensing its phraseology but little, and perplexing it with an almost infinite variety of combinations. How came they here, associated with syntactical forms in other respects simple and inartificial, and useless to the people by whom they are spoken? Are they the wrecks of more polished tongues, acquired in far different circumstances, and almost lost in the lapse of ages?

In some of these languages, the adjectives are subjected to variations depending not on the gender nor degree, but on the nature of the objects to which they are applied. Among the Delawares, things which have life, whether animal or vegetable, are qualified by adjectives, different from those which are applied to inanimate objects.

Good.

Animate.	Inanimate.
Woolussoo.	Woolit.
Good man.	Good gun.
Woolussoo Lunno.	Woolit Piyaughkeekun.

Bad.

Mohtutsoo.	Mohtut.
Bad dog.	Bad canoe.
Mohtutsoo M'wikona.	Mohtut Umoghool.

In the Chippewa language, this rule is more limited in its application. It is restricted to objects with animal life, and to these it is applied only while alive.

Animate.		Inanimate.
Ugausau,	*little*,	Pungee.
Sugausau,	*fine*,	Besau.
Nohun,	*soft*,	Pekokeet.
Mindido,	*great*,	Mitchee, or Meesee.

The principle, in both, extends to verbs. The Delawares say,

Apple bring.	Water bring.
Aupelish naul.	M'bee nauten.

The Chippewas say,

Animate.		Inanimate.
Peesh,	*bring*,	Peedoon.
Waubemau,	*see*,	Waubendon.

The Delawares have yet another division of adjectives, applicable to solids or to fluids.

Liquids.		Solids.
Tungitee,	*little*,	Kahitee.
Little milk.		Little bread.
Tungitee Noonaukun.		Kahitee Auhpone.

In many of these languages, there is a singular contrivance to indicate the death of a person, without an explicit declaration of the fact. It is considered a delicate allusion to the subject, like the Roman *vixit*, which was used by that people for the same purpose. And strange indeed is it, that this affectation of delicacy should be found among two nations in opposite hemispheres, one of whom could view with pleasure the revolting spectacles in their gladiatorial arenæ, and the other could commit atrocities, which make the blood run cold,

while they are related. Neither of them could talk of death, but both could behold it in its most horrid forms.

The addition of *au* in the Delaware, or of *bun* in the Chippewa, to any proper name, indicates with certainty, that the person mentioned is dead. Tecumthé *au*, Pontiac *obun*, (the *o* is inserted to aid the sound,) could not be misunderstood by an Indian. He would instantly perceive, that his once celebrated countrymen were dead. The syllables have no relation, however, to death. We are ignorant of the root of the Delaware suffix. The Chippewa *bun* is the invariable mark of the past tense, and is probably derived from *Jaube*, being.

And here it may not be uninteresting to correct an error, into which many of our philologists have fallen, that the verb to be, *sum*, is not found in any of our Indian languages. In the Miami it is in constant use, and there can be no mistake in its application.

I am.	He is.
Eshinekosearn.	Eshinekosit.

In the Sioux it is,

Here I am.	Mountain is yonder.
Daang mangka.	Kharkhar ka karkeear.

Mr Heckewelder is incorrect, in the answer he has given to the inquiry of Mr Duponceau, respecting the existence of words in the Indian languages, confined in their use to the different sexes. These sexual words are found in almost all the languages, and it would be considered highly indelicate for either sex to use the words appropriated to the other.

The following words, in the different languages, are limited in their use by this principle.

Masculine.		Feminine.
	In the Chippewa.	
Needjee.	*My friend.*	Neendongwa.
Tyau.	*Exclamation of surprise.*	N'yau.
	Sioux.	
Metsheengya.	*My elder brother.*	Meteemendo.
Metungha.	*My elder sister.*	Meetshong.
Metungshe.	*My younger sister.*	Metunghar.
Metarkærshe.	*My cousin.*	Metshashe.

Masculine.		Feminine.
	KICKAPOO.	
Neekarnar.	*My friend.*	Squa.
	SAC AND FOX.	
Neekaulau.	*My friend,* (when absent,)	Squa.
Neekaul.	*My friend,* (when present,)	Neekaul.
	OTTAWA.	
Neetshee.	*My friend.*	Ndongwa.
	POTAWATAMIE.	
Neekarn.	*My friend.*	Kwatshee.
	WYANDOT.	
N'yuteroo.	*My friend.*	Nyatzee.
W'hoo.	*Exclamation of surprise.*	Nuya.
	SHAWNESE.	
Neekarnar.	*My friend.*	Neeleemwa.
Alalewee.	*Expression of surprise.*	Waupomee.
Aumala.	*Expression of contempt.*	Ashekartshee.

It will be observed, that in these remarks, we have confined ourselves principally to the Delaware language; because our examination of Mr Heckewelder's work necessarily restricted the range of our inquiry. Nor have we any intention to detain our readers by a general investigation of Indian languages.*

We have already expressed our doubts, as to the classification adopted in that work; nor are we better satisfied with the synoptical view of the American languages, given by Adelung in his 'Survey of all the known Languages and their Dialects.' This work, and its predecessor, the *Mithridates*, to which Mr Duponceau acknowledges his obligations, are monuments of the zeal, industry, and erudition of their authors. But it is to be regretted, that the defective state of their materials has led them into so many errors, in their investigations of the languages of the North American Indians. It is impossible, from any vocabularies now existing, to arrange these languages into their respective families, separating the primitive stocks from one another, and connecting the affiliated dialects, without a personal and intimate knowledge of the various tribes. Their names have been so multiplied, by the ignorance and carelessness of travellers,

* An analysis of Mr Heckewelder's work will be found in the North American Review, No. xxiv, for June, 1819.

that great caution is necessary in their application, lest exaggerated estimates be formed of the number of these communities.

The general geographical divisions, into which the tribes are separated, in the 'Survey' of Adelung, evince an ignorance of the features of the country, and of the situation of the Indians. The southern tribes, the Creeks, Choctaws, and others, are arranged with the Iroquois; while the Northwestern Indians are connected with those of the Eastern and middle Atlantic coast; the general divisions thus crossing each other.

But the most important errors are found in the names of the tribes, and in the affinities of their dialects. The author has apparently proceeded, with the narrative of every traveller through the Indian country in his hand, and recorded the names as he found them; adjusting their connexion by their residence, by meagre vocabularies, or by the slight notices given of them. The same tribe, by these means, has different names and different associations; and a distinct appellation and peculiar dialect are given to every little local band. It is easy to conceive, that by this process, the number of the American languages may be swelled to '*twelve hundred and fourteen*,' and, in fact, to any other which the pride of discovery may require.*

In the principal division (D,) subdivision (a,) and minor subdivision (4,) the Twightwees, or Miamies, are placed at the head of a family, which is divided into Ouyatonons and Illinois.

But the Miamies and Ouyatonons, properly Weweatanon, and now called Weas, are bands of the same tribe, without any perceptible difference in their dialects. The Illinois tribes are not now, nor were they ever, branches of the Miami family. There is reason to think, that at a remote period, the Miamies were nearly connected with some of these tribes. But it is difficult to ascertain with precision, who were included in the general designation of Illinois Indians. The name was given them at an early day, but it was rather descriptive of the country, which they occupied,

* For that part of Adelung's *Survey*, relating to the American languages, and referred to in the present remarks, see North American Review, for January, 1822. Vol. xiv. p. 135.

than of any natural association or political confederacy among its inhabitants. The Illinois tribes were stated by Charlevoix to be the Moingonas, the Peorias, the Tamarorias, the Coaquias, and the Kaskaskias. But Bossu considers the Peorias, as allies only of the Illinois. Adelung includes in the Illinois family the 'Kaskaskias, the Cahokias, the Piorias, the Kasquias,' (but another name for the Kaskaskias) 'the Mitchigamies, the Piankashaws, the Kikapoos, the Poteouatamies, Pottawatameh, or Pattawottomi, the Outaouas, and the Chaûnis.'

Now the Kikapoos, written Kickapoos, and the Chaûnis, written Shawanos, Sawanno, Shawnee, an identity of which the author appears wholly ignorant, had already formed his second and third subdivisions, and preceded the Miamies in this general division. But they are here classed as tribes of one of the families of that nation.

The most unpardonable negligence alone could arrange the Kickapoos, the Potawatamies, the Ottawas, and the Shawnese, as members of the Illinois confederacy. Their separate existence, as independent communities, is coeval with our earliest knowledge of the Indians, and they are all well known and important tribes. And what is still worse, the Potawatamies, written Poüteoüatami, are, (in division D. c. 1. δ. ee,) placed as a branch of the Algonquin family. The Ouyatanons, already classed with the Miamies, are reintroduced under the name Ojatinon, (ff) as a separate tribe. And the Miamies themselves again make their appearance, under the name Oumami (a a) in a very subordinate situation.

In the subdivision, to which we have last alluded, the Outagamies, (c c) the Malomimis, (d d) and the Sakis, (g g) are classed with the others as affiliated tribes. But they had been before arranged, in the preceding general division, (B. c.) with slight orthographical variations. They are there called Sakies, or Saukis, Ottogamies, and Menomenes, or Folle Avoine.

This association is, in any analysis of the Indian languages, erroneous. The language of the Menomonies cannot be understood by the Sacs and Foxes, (Saukies and Ottogamies.) Whether the former speak an Algonquin dialect, or a primitive language, is a question not yet settled. But the fact is

certain, that in their intercourse with one another, they are not understood by the adjacent tribes.

In the general division (D. c. 2. ε.) the Ottawas, whom we have already seen enumerated as one of the Illinois tribes, under the name Outaonas, are again introduced in the same relation to the Chippewas. The word is here written Ottoways, Ottawas, and Wtáwas. This last is the orthography of Mr Heckewelder, and we confess our inability to pronounce it.

The Erigas, or Eries, and the Makontens, properly Mascontens, are enumerated as existing tribes; but they have disappeared for ages, and of the Eries little was ever known, except from the relations of the other Indians.

The Osages and the Pawnees, whose languages are radically different, are classed together; and the Jowas, Ottoes, Missouries, and Winebagoes, are detached from the Sioux, with whom they are closely connected by dialect, and attached to the Osages.

The Stone Indians, (Assiniboins,) are arranged in one place with the Chippewas, and in another with the Sioux; and the Crees are enumerated as a branch of the Chippewa family, (D. c. 2. β.) and immediately afterwards, (D. c. 3.) under the names Knistenaux, Chinisteneaux, Christeneaux, Clisteno, they form an independent division, composed of four branches.

The Nanticokes, (C. e. 8.) a well known tribe of the Delaware stock, are assigned to the Iroquois, and constitute the eighth member of that family, which occupies a prominent station in division C. But, (in D. c. 1. ε.) four tribes of the Iroquois confederacy, with their orthography slightly changed, are once more introduced; and, strange to tell, as speaking Algonquin dialects.

We have not time to analyse the arrangement of the Sioux family. Those, who are at all acquainted with the subject, will perceive what little confidence is to be placed in this classification, when they learn, that the Mahas are a tribe of the 'Naudowessies of the Plain,' that the Shians and Shianes, (both being the Cheyennes,) constitute the fifth and sixth divisions, and that the Tetongs and Sussitongs, two of the great families of the Sioux, appear as subordinate branches of the Yankton band.

These are but a part of the errors, which our limited personal knowledge of the different tribes, has enabled us to detect in the Survey of Adelung. But they satisfactorily prove, that with our present materials, we should confine our exertions to the collecting of facts, and not bewilder ourselves in attempts to discover new dialects, or to class those already known.

In the present state of our knowledge, the Wyandot, and its cognate dialects, appear to form a class of primitive languages; the Algonquin or Chippewa, another; the southern languages, a third; the Sioux, a fourth; and the Pawnee, and kindred tribes of that family, a fifth. But we speak with much doubt, and are in fact not unwilling to hazard the conjecture, that future and more extensive inquiries may possibly prove, that all these languages are affiliated, and descended from a common stock. We are certainly destitute at present of any etymological proofs of this fact, but when vocabularies are formed upon a common plan, and their orthographical principles invariably established, and when the effect produced by habits of enunciation more or less guttural, by the frequent use of certain letters and the rejection of others, by the difference of accentuation in strength and in position, by the slowness or rapidity of utterance, and by other causes, shall be fully understood and appreciated, we shall not be surprised, if affinities are discovered in all our Indian languages, for which we have not yet been prepared.

In stature, color, form of the face, high cheek bones, hazel eye, dark hair, thinness of the beard, and in their prevailing personal appearance, there is a strong resemblance among all the Indians; varied, no doubt, by certain physiognomical characteristics among different tribes, more easily perceived than described. In manners, customs, habits, opinions, traditions, religious notions, systems of education, and in their own appellations for one another, they are essentially the same people. The forms of their languages are almost identical. The same principles of regimen and concord, the same arrangement of words in sentences, the same polysyllabic combinations, and in fact every essential rule, whether anomalous or general, whether it agrees with the transatlantic languages, or differs from them, are common to all these, as far as we have been able to examine them. The deductions

from these facts we relinquish to others, contenting ourselves with the conjecture already advanced.

The Wyandots, and the various tribes of the Six Nations, speak dialects having a general affinity; but they require interpreters in their intercourse with one another. The Chippewa, or Algonquin language, is spoken by the Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatamies, Sacs and Foxes, Shawnese, Kickapoos, Menomonies, Miamies, and Delawares; and these dialects approximate one another in the order of arrangement, the Chippewa being the standard dialect, and the Delaware the most remote. For the three first, no interpreter is required; for the three next, one is convenient, but not necessary; and the three last are too imperfectly understood by any of the others, to enable them to converse without assistance.

There is no doubt that, at the era of the discovery, a knowledge of the Chippewa, or Algonquin tongue, for they are the same, would have enabled a traveller to communicate with all the Indians, except the Wyandots and their kindred tribes, from the Penobscot to the Chesapeake, and from the Ocean to Lake Superior.

The Trans-Mississippi languages are divided into two great families. At the head of one we may place the Sioux, and of the other the Pawnee. The Sioux language is to the nations west of the Mississippi, what the Chippewa is to those east of it. That river is the boundary between these great families; for the Winebagoes, who live upon the Fox, Ouisconsin, and Rock Rivers, are evidently intruders there. Their hereditary country was in the south west. Perhaps some branches of the Illinois family lived at a remote period upon the Des Moines. But the exceptions to the general statement are too few, to require a specific enumeration. Interpreters are convenient, and in some of these dialects are necessary, for any communication; but we believe unerring traces of the Sioux language will be found in all the dialects, except those of the Pawnee family, extending from the Mississippi to the Indians, who roam through the country at the heads of the Missouri and Arkansas, and occupy the passes of the Rocky Mountains.

If the Sioux be assumed as the parent language, then the affinities of the dialects of that family will be exhibited in the following tabular form.

Arkansas or Quapaws.
Osages.
Kanzas.
Mahas.
Poncas.
} These dialects are nearly similar, and the tribes, who use them, can understand one another without an interpreter.

Jowas.
Ottoes.
Missouries.
Winebagoes.
} These dialects approach the standard language more nearly, than those in the preceding paragraph. But interpreters are necessary, both between themselves, and between them and the Sioux, for a distinct understanding of any subject.

The root of the word which signifies *fire*, among all these tribes, is *p'haajee*.

No affinities are known to exist between the languages of this family, and those spoken by the Pawnees and Arickaras. The two latter are nearly the same, and constitute, in the present state of our knowledge, a class of primitive languages. Their word for fire is *lacteetoo*.

To shew the idioms of three of these great parent stocks, we subjoin translations of four sentences into the Chippewa, Wyandot, and Sioux languages, and retranslations into English. They are rendered as literally, as their respective idioms will permit. Full confidence may be placed in the Chippewa specimens. The others are the result of much labor, but under less favorable circumstances.

CHIPPEWA.

1. *I wish to go with you and catch his horse.*

Appadush	I wish
weejeewinaum	to go with you
tshee*	to
minjeminemung	take (v. a.)
opabaazhigogauzhemun	his beast with solid hoofs ; (*o*, here denotes the possessive case.)

2. *We conquered our country by our bravery, and we will defend it with our strength.*

Kesoangedaäwininaum†	Our bravery,
kau oonjee	by that
bukenaugayung	we conquered
ketukeminaun,	our country, (or land,)
Keegootaumagozewininaum	our storm-like strength
dush giea oonjee	by that also,
minjeeminuhmung	we shall keep it.

* The Chippewa particles *tshee* and *ka*, when used before verbs, give precision to them.

† The noun throughout this sentence precedes the verb.

3. *Give me some venison to put in his kettle.*

Meeshishin*	Give me
addik	deer; (Addik is the name for *Reindeer*,)
weeos	flesh
ka	to
podaukwawug	put in
odaukeekoong.	his kettle; (*o*, indicates possession.)

4. *Mr. Heckewelder's book contains many errors.*

Mukudawukooniat†	Black dress
omuzeniegun	his book, (or paper,)
gitshee na neebewoh	in many places has plenty
keewonemoomugud	errors, (or mistakes,) in it.

WYANDOT.

1.

Ndee	I
yaaghre	wish
sheeharyate	go
ateewaherkyee	with you
ahateezheendaöo	catch him
hoosenear‡	his slave
yoosheta.	beast that carries upon his back.

2.

Auwautendengendee	We conquered
aunyoomitsarmee	our land
n'dia	by that
newotsarndeetar;	our bravery;
aunyoomitsar	our land
nostart	keep it
n'dia	by that
nemauwishromee	our strength.

3.

N'dee	Me
tonoont	give
skinootoo	deer
wautsau	flesh
toosoontrok	put in
hoonaöar	his kettle. (*ar* indicates possession.)

* In this sentence, the Indian, unlike No. 2, is constructed as an English sentence, the verb preceding the noun.

† The Chippewas substitute descriptive terms for English proper names.

‡ The Wyandots always prefix this word to the names of domestic animals in a state of servitude.

4.

Honyoomauauk	White man
hoozhutooshrumar	his book
ooreewauroonyoo	many places
yarndeeyooherunt	mistakes.

Sioux.

1.

Toakeen	I wish
oa	with
nee	you
atshar	go out
kar	and
tau	his
shoongktunkar	horse
ongee	we
uzarpeekta	will take.

2.

Ongeetau	Our
markotesheepee	lands
wondeetargear	bravely
ongee	we
oeyumpeetsher	have conquered,
warshargear	strongly
ongee	we
hn' doneetsharpeekta	will maintain.

3.

Tarkhinjar	Deer
tshonetshar	flesh
mar	me
koo	give
tau	his
tshaaghar	kettle
ane	into
orärhnarnkaakta	I will put.

4.

Tar	The
wausheetshoo	white man
tau	his
woärpee	book
eetsheenshnee	errors, (or mistakes,)
otar	much.

We subjoin two more Chippewa specimens.

1. *Why do you not behave better and sit still?*

Auneeshween nuh?	Why not, (includes pronoun,)
neebwaukausewun	possess sense, (noun, verb, & pro.)

pisaun	still
tshee	to
nemudubeyun	sit. (v. a. includes the pronoun, and in present tense.)

The sense of the English is rendered into Indian with force and sufficient precision. But the analytical mode adopted gives the *retranslation* a stiff and faulty aspect.

2. *I do not think there is any such thing as virtue.*

Kauween neen } Not do I	(negative mode of assertion, very common.)
nindenaindum	think
kago	anything
iauseenoan*	exists like
minno	good
izheewaubizeewin	life. (Noun indicated by *win.*)

Our personal knowledge of the southern languages is confined to the Cherokee, and we shall not, therefore, hazard any conjectures respecting them. We are inclined to believe, however, that they have a general family resemblance; but whether any connexion exists between them, and the other great families, we are ignorant. We found in the Cherokee the same general principles of formation, which distinguish the others.

Whoever makes the experiment will discover, that much stronger analogies exist between dialects of our Indians, as they have been written, than as they are spoken. Languages, which appear almost identical upon paper, are yet in conversation understood with great difficulty. The causes of this difference have been already stated, but their operation must be felt before they can be fully appreciated.

It is easy to conceive, that roving bands of savages in the hunter state, may separate for very trivial causes, and that dialects may soon be formed, which will gradually recede from one another, until all etymological traces of their common origin can with difficulty be discerned. Languages, which are not fixed by letters, must be liable to perpetual fluctuations; and as the intercourse between different tribes is diminished by mutual hostilities, or by distance, their dialects will rapidly recede from one another. In this manner, many dialects, and possibly all, have been formed.

*This is one of those verbal Indian forms, which admit some latitude in the translation.

The Foxes have a traditionary legend upon this subject, which we are tempted to give, because it happily explains their opinion of the mode, in which these separations of natural and political connexion, and consequently of languages, have been brought about.

Many years since, say they, two bands of our people were living near each other. The Chief of one of these bands wanted some Indian tobacco,* and sent one of his young men to the Chief of the other band, to procure some. The latter, being a little offended with his relation, told the young man, he would send no tobacco, and that he had long tusks, intimating he was disposed to quarrel. The young man replied, that the tobacco was wanted for a feast. The Chief then took up a pair of *Apukwine*, (large bone needles, made of the ribs of the elk, and used in the manufacture of rush mats,) and throwing his pipe upon the ground, put these like tusks upon each side of his mouth, and said, 'My teeth are long and strong, and will bite.' The young man returned and communicated the result to his Chief, who assembled his warriors and said, 'My warriors, let us prepare to pull out these long tusks, lest they should grow sharp and bite us.' He then directed them to accompany him in an attack upon the other party, and they proceeded to form an ambuscade near their camp. As the day dawned, the Chief said, 'It is now light enough, we can see to pull out his teeth.' The attack commenced, and many were destroyed. This is the way, says the tradition, in which the great Indian family became divided. Till then they were one people.†

* Called by the Canadians *Tabac du diable*, or *Feningue*, and by the Chippewa, *Inine Samau*, or Man tobacco. It was formerly cultivated by the Indians, and used in all their feasts and religious ceremonies.

† Much additional knowledge of the Indian languages may be expected to be gradually gained. Mr Duponceau and Mr Pickering, philologists of whom the country may be justly proud, have devoted much of their time to the subject, and are still pursuing it with ardor, to the extent of their opportunities. Mr Pickering has constructed with immense pains, a Grammar of the Cherokee, which is now in press. All attempts of this sort are of great importance in fixing grammatical forms, and establishing first principles.

In the fourth volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, is an essay by Mr Pickering, proposing a uniform alphabet for the Indian languages, an object of much importance in establishing such an orthography, as to ensure useful results from a comparison of different vocabularies. In the 9th vol. 2d Series of the Massachusetts Historical Collection, is published Eliot's Indian Grammar, accompanied with valuable notes and observations, by the above gentlemen. It is there stated, that this 'Grammar was presented

Mr John Dunn Hunter's book, has attracted some attention in this country and England. In the sixtyfirst number of the London Quarterly Review, is an article complimentary to the veracity and fidelity of Hunter. We were at first unable to conjecture why a work, purporting to be written by an American, was so kindly received. But it was not long before we discovered the strong claims, which it had to the favor of the Reviewers. Hunter elevates the Indian character far above its true standard, and he depresses that of the frontier settlers as far below it. He whines about the purchase of land, and the introduction of whiskey, as though these were not among the least of the evils, to which the calamities of the Indians are attributable. But these assertions may possibly account for the complacent humor of the Reviewers towards Hunter, in regard to the manner in which he has performed his task. 'We shall only remark farther,' say they, 'of Hunter's book, that in general his description of Indian manners and customs are minutely accurate.' 'There is nothing suspicious in Hunter's narrative. The style is that of a man unaccustomed to write, simple and precise, but not altogether free from vulgarisms and barbarisms.'

This whole article is an admirable specimen of the critical sagacity of the Quarterly. The writers upon all subjects speak *ex cathedra*, but in this article they display more than usual dogmatism. Some of their facts have probably been furnished by a subaltern officer, who may have travelled from Detroit to the Miami, in the campaign of 1813, on the northwestern frontier; and these have been eked out by crude speculations and bitter invective. In examining the causes, which have heretofore impeded the acquisition of correct knowledge, on topics connected with the Indians, the Reviewers say, 'Until of late years, we could scarcely expect to possess any other instrument of communication with the Indian tribes than these, for educated Englishmen could be very rarely thrown into contact with them.' This is true Quarterly modesty. And so where an educated Englishman does not go, nothing can

to the public, as part of a series of tracts respecting the Indian languages, which it is the intention of the Historical Society to publish, from time to time, as circumstances shall permit.' Accordingly, in the next volume, (X) Dr Edwards's Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians is published, together with a body of learned and copious notes by Mr Pickering. It is presumed the subject will be continued in other volumes of this work.

be known! We presume this article is the result of the observations of one of these 'educated Englishmen,' and the world will probably before long be favored with important discoveries, which it must be content to owe to the same prolific source. Feeling a deep interest in the reputation of the Quarterly, we cannot avoid suggesting to its contributors the expediency of confining themselves to their poor laws and savings' banks, and to other topics more immediately within the sphere of their own observation; and of being cautious how they discuss subjects separated from them by an extensive ocean, and interminable forests, even with the aid of an 'educated Englishman' to furnish facts which never existed.

Hunter has inserted what he calls a speech, delivered by Tecumthé to the Osages. And it is but a poor comment on the *tact* and judgment of the reading community, that this speech, and the reflections in which Hunter says he indulged on his arrival at the Pacific Ocean, have been already quoted into three respectable works, as valuable specimens of aboriginal taste and feeling.* The speech is lauded in the Quarterly, and the circumstances stated by Hunter, respecting its delivery, furnish, in the opinion of the Reviewers, a proof of his veracity. It is thought impossible for Hunter to have known, that Tecumthé made a visit to the Southwest in 1812, unless he had acquired a knowledge of this fact from the Indians. 'Now we happen to know,' say the Reviewers, 'that Tecumthé did certainly, after the capture of Detroit by our forces, in 1812, quit our head quarters there; that, proceeding down the Mississippi, he traversed an immense extent of Indian country, and employed himself with various success in animating his brethren by his eloquence to unite against the Americans, and that he did not return to the Michigan Territory, until the following January.' *Now* WE *happen to know*, that Tecumthé did not leave Detroit for the Mississippi country in 1812. *We happen to know*, that on the 27th of September 1811, he arrived at Vincennes, and sought an interview with General Harrison. At the discussions, which took place during this interview, he displayed the most hostile spirit, and the result being unsatisfactory to him, he descended the Wabash with a small party in a canoe. He was himself a half Creek, his father being of that tribe,

* See the account of this speech in Hunter's Narrative, pp. 51—56.

and between them and the Shawnese a friendly intercourse had long subsisted. His object was to excite the Creeks to hostilities against the United States, and eventually to form a general Indian confederacy, under the protection of the British.

That Tecumthé himself, and the disaffected band of the Shawnese, who adhered to him, had been tampered with by the British agents, no man can doubt, who was so situated as to observe the course of events upon the frontier, or who has examined the mass of evidence, submitted by the President to Congress in his message of June 11, 1812, respecting the origin and progress of our difficulties with the Indians. Tecumthé returned from his tour in December, and remained with his party during the winter of 1811, 12. In the spring of 1812, as the note of preparation became louder and louder, he was invited to Malden. He left Fort Wayne for that place on the second of July, and arrived there about the eighth or ninth.* He was in most of the engagements upon that frontier, during the two succeeding campaigns, and never was again further west than the Tippecanoe.

The Reviewers, with their characteristic accuracy, state, that the Indians, 'lulled into security by confidence in the supernatural powers of their prophet, and neglecting that caution, which is generally so marked a trait in the Indian character, were surprised by an American corps in the dead of the night on the banks of the Wabash, and almost annihilated. Tecumthé, with a small number of warriors, escaped the massacre; but it is probable, that the survivors were too few to preserve the separate existence of a tribe; for while he swayed the whole Indian body, Tecumthé could scarcely number a score of immediate followers of his own people.'

In this paragraph are almost as many misrepresentations as lines. *We happen to know*, and the whole American people know, that the troops under General Harrison did not attack the Indians. The army encamped in the vicinity of the Prophet's Town, under the expectation, and with assurances from the Indians, that the difficulties would be adjusted at a

* For some days preceding his departure from Fort Wayne, he had been in conference with the agent there, on the state of affairs between the United States and Great Britain, and on the evening of the first of July he promised, that he would return to the Wabash, quietly resume his ordinary occupations, and avoid any participation in the approaching conflict.

council to be held the succeeding day. But the General had been trained in the school of experience. He was able and cautious, and his troops were brave. And to these qualities they owed their final safety. Before the dawn of day, the Indians commenced a fierce assault upon the camp, and after much slaughter were driven from the field. A nocturnal surprise of an encampment of Indians by a corps of civilised troops, every step of whose progress has been vigilantly watched, is a manœuvre to be found only in the tactics of the Quarterly; and is probably among the discoveries, for which we are indebted to the 'educated Englishman.' Tecumthé was not present at the engagement. He was then on his southern mission. It is certain he did not anticipate a battle, during his absence, and it is probable he still calculated on the system of forbearance, which had marked the conduct of the American government towards the Indians. His brother, the Prophet, had the principal direction of affairs; an influence, which he owed to his talents and his religious character, rather than to his military qualifications. Mengoatowa, a Kickapoo chief, who was killed, and Waweapakoosa, a Winebago chief, commanded in the action, as far as any command was exercised. But where there is no combination of movement, and each individual is left to act for himself, very little authority is necessary, and very little is exerted.

The Reviewers say, that many Shawnese were killed in the action, and to this they attribute the weakness of the band, which accompanied Tecumthé, when he joined the British. Admirable historians! But one Shawnese was killed in the action.* The loss fell on the Kickapoos, Winebagoes, and Potawatamies. *We happen to know* why Tecumthé's party was so weak, and we will communicate the cause, for the benefit of the author of the next tirade upon this subject in the Quarterly. Tecumthé was a disaffected man, and had seceded from the '*legitimate*' authority of his tribe. All the chiefs, and almost all the warriors, were opposed to his plans. They saw, that these were fraught with ruin to their people, and believed them to have originated in a system of self aggrandisement. Tecumthé was a *novus homo*, not entitled

* Paaksgee was killed; and three other Shawnese, namely, Kathooskaka, Mamatseka, and Maipokseka were wounded.

to any hereditary authority; and he regarded with jealousy the influence of the lawful chiefs. The great body of the tribe adhered with unshaken fidelity to the cause of the United States, during the whole contest, and time has proved the wisdom of their measures. They are now living comfortably, upon a large reservation secured to them in a fertile part of Ohio; while Tecumthé fell in a cause, in which he had no interest, and his son and brother are outcasts from their people, receiving no aid from the British government, and anxious to rejoin their connexions.* Like all other Indians, who have placed their faith in the same trust, when their services ceased to be useful, they ceased to be regarded or rewarded.

We are the less apprehensive of leading our readers, or being ourselves led into error on this topic, or on any other connected with the history or objects of Tecumthé, as the Prophet his brother, and his son are sitting with us, while we are writing these remarks, and as they have freely disclosed to us their past history and present situation. We have been not a little amused, at the shrewd observations of the Prophet, respecting the ignorance of the Reviewers in the article, which we have caused to be explained to him.

Tecumthé has obtained a celebrity, such as has fallen to the lot of few of his countrymen. For this he was indebted, not less to adventitious circumstances, than to his own physical and mental endowments. He was a man of more enlarged views, than are often found among the Indian chiefs; a brave warrior, and a skilful leader; politic in his measures, and firm in his purposes. But he was jealous and ambitious, and prepared to sacrifice the happiness of his people to his own impracticable projects. His connexion with the British contributed, however, more than any other circumstance, to the celebrity he enjoyed. He was an instrument in their hands; and it was their interest to give him an importance, true or false, by which they could wield the savage force, which they had collected. With this view he was invited, as the Quarterly states, to the British General's table, and with this view he was made the distributor of the presents, lavished upon the Indians. One of the British

* Since the above was written, they have left Canada, and removed to the Shawnese reservation in Ohio, radically cured, if we may credit their own declarations, of their Anglo Mania.

armed vessels was named the Tecumthé, and another the Nawash. This Nawash was an Ottawa, elevated to importance by the same system, and with the same object. He has long since ceased to be useful, and now lives in utter insignificance among his tribe, upon the Miami in the Michigan Territory.*

The Prophet, the brother of Tecumthé, was an able coadjutor. His character has not been well understood. He is shrewd, and sagacious, and well qualified to acquire an influence over those about him. We are inclined to think, that at the commencement of his career he was a fanatic, who had 'seen visions and dreamed dreams,' and who believed the doctrines he professed and inculcated. This practical conquest of the imagination over the reason is not very rare, even in civilised life; and there is a singular feature in the system of Indian education, by which its occurrence is encouraged and promoted.† Subsequent events in life are materially affected by this process, and vivid impres-

* *In the division of labor* among the Indians, the composition and delivery of speeches, are not often entrusted to the same person. In all important questions, the Chiefs previously assemble and prepare the speech, which is to be delivered. And here the influence of talent and authority is exerted and felt. But the public delivery of the speech is a mere act of memory on the part of the orator. The addresses, for which Tecumthé has had credit, were prepared principally by Walk-in-the-water, the Grey-eyed-man, and Isidore, three Wyandot Chiefs; and the celebrated remonstrance to Proctor, against his evacuation of the country upon the Detroit River, and in which he was told, that he appeared like a dog running off with his tail between his legs, was thus prepared in the house of Mrs Walker, a respectable half Wyandot woman, upon whose authority we state the fact. Tecumthé was not an able composer of speeches. We understand he was particularly deficient in those powers of the imagination, to which we have been indebted for the boldest flights of Indian eloquence. He was sometimes confused, and generally tedious and circumlocutory.

We have in our possession ample materials for a biographical sketch of this celebrated chief. Hereafter we may embody them in an article for our Journal.

† This remarkable institution should receive a minute examination. It is admirably contrived to render the Indians reckless of consequences, and its influence is not less powerful, than the sternest principle of fatalism. The tutelary genii guard the lives of their favorites, and the Eagle receives upon his beak the balls of their enemies.

The process commences before the age of puberty, and continues for a shorter or longer term, as the revelations are more or less propitious. The appearance of some animals foreshow a happy destiny, while others, and particularly snakes, portend misfortune. When the dreams are fortunate, the discipline is terminated; but when otherwise, it is interrupted, and after some time renewed, with the hope of a more favorable result. If, however, in this hope, they continue to be disappointed, their situation is remediless, and they must submit with fortitude to the calamities which await them.

sions are formed, which are never eradicated. This result is produced by a system of watching and fasting, rigorous, painful, and long continued. During this period, which is called the time of 'fasting,' in Chippewa, *Makatea*, many rites are practised to render the lessons impressive, and to excite the feelings to a proper degree of susceptibility. The guardian *Manitou* finally appears in a dream, assuming the shape of some animal, and is ever after during life the object of adoration. The real or imaginary qualities of this animal indicate the character, and the proper business in life of the dreamer. If it is an eagle, he must be a warrior; if a wolf, a hunter; and if a turkey buzzard, a prophet or physician.

It is probable, that the opinions of the Shawnese Prophet, in mature age, were materially affected by this hallucination, and that when he began his career, he was as much the dupe of his own feelings, as were any of his hearers. His conduct was certainly incompatible with any rational policy, that he can be supposed to have adopted; and of the immense numbers, who from time to time assembled at Greenville, and elsewhere, to hear his rhapsodies, many perished from hunger, and none attempted to aid him in any project, hostile to the United States, till long after his influence was on the wane. The Shawnese, whatever may have been their origin, were intruders upon the Northwestern Indians. They owned no portion of the country, and, consequently, were entitled to no part of the consideration paid for the cession of it. A principle of international law, which should prevent the sale of land by one tribe, without the consent of all, could not but be advantageous to those, who had no other title than sufferance to the district they occupied. This was a cardinal principle in the policy of Tecumthé, and the opportunity, furnished by the fanaticism of his brother, opened the way for more enlarged views, and eventually afforded the means, as he thought, of accomplishing them.

These prophets, as they are improperly termed, frequently make their appearance among the Indians, and acquire a wonderful ascendancy over them. They are preachers, prophets, and physicians, and they pretend to a direct communication, with all the superior and inferior deities in the Indian mythology.

But to return once more to the book in question. Mr John Dunn Hunter is one of the boldest imposters, that has appeared in the literary world, since the days of Psálmanazar. His book, however, is without the ingenuity and learning, which, like redeeming qualities, rendered the History of Formosa an object of rational curiosity. It is a worthless fabrication, and, in this respect, beneath the dignity of criticism; compiled, no doubt, by some professional book maker, partly from preceding accounts, and partly from the inventions of Hunter. Our only motive for introducing the work into this article is, that, by exposing so gross an imposition, the public may be put upon its guard for the future, and not give credit to tales supported neither by intrinsic nor extrinsic evidence. The letters, which we shall presently introduce, place beyond doubt the imposture of Hunter. And here we might safely dismiss the subject; but a cursory examination of a few of his more prominent statements, may elucidate some important traits of Indian manners, and will at all events detect the utter ignorance of the writer of the article in the Quarterly.

Hunter says he left the Osages in 1816, when he was nineteen or twenty years of age, and, as he recollects the incidents of his capture, he was then probably four or five. He was, therefore, taken about 1800, or 1801, and as the outrage was committed by a party of Kickapoos, the residence of his father must have been in Indiana or Illinois. His description of the scene shows, that it was an act of the most determined hostility. There were the war whoop and the yells, 'the massacre of parents and connexions, the pillage of their property, and the incendious destruction of their dwellings.' This was in a period of profound peace. Such an aggression in 1800, or 1801, would have electrified the whole country west of the mountains. We have our own distinct recollections, and what is still better, we have the authority of General Harrison to justify us in saying, that no such incident occurred. The Kickapoos were quiet from the signature of Wayne's treaty, till the commencement of the difficulties with Tecumthé and the Prophet.

Hunter proceeds to state, that the party of Kickapoos, who took him, were themselves attacked and destroyed by the Pawnees, into whose possession he then fell. In 1800, and

for some time after, not a Kickapoo lived west of the Mississippi. They occupied the plains about the Illinois, and between that river and the Wabash. They are separated from the Pawnees by extensive districts, and by the Osages, Kansas, and Missouries. The Pawnees and Kickapoos have never been brought into contact with each other, nor have they ever been engaged in mutual hostilities.

After residing some time with the Pawnees, by a similar freak of fortune, he was thrown into the possession of the Kansas. We have then an affecting description of the 'venerable Chief Tohut-che-nau.' Where this *respectable man* lived, except in these pages, we have not been able to ascertain. There never has been a Chief of that name known among the Kansas, nor is the word itself, nor any thing like it, to be found in the Kansas language.

A transfer to the Osages terminated this pilgrimage from tribe to tribe. And with them be continued, until his final restoration to civilised life. It was during this period, that Tecumthé is said to have made his visit to the Osages, and delivered his celebrated speech.

The Osage tribe occupy the immense plains, extending from the Missouri and the Arkansas to the Rocky Mountains. They are the Ishmaelites of the Trans-Mississippi country. Their hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against them. The nations of the Algonquin family, the Shawnese, Delawares, Miamies, Kickapoos, and also the southern Indians, have been at war with them for ages. So late as 1818, we witnessed the arrival of a party of Shawnese, among their own people, from a hostile expedition against the Osages. The scalps, which they bore, evinced their success, and the shouts of the multitude left no doubt of the deep interest they felt, in the destruction of their enemies. No Shawnese had, in 1812, ever visited the Osages as a friend, nor was Tecumthé ever within many hundred miles of a party of that nation.

But the most wonderful event in the life of Hunter, is his journey to the Pacific. And wonderful indeed is it, that a party of thirtysix Kansas and Osages should have reached the brink of that distant ocean. No Osages or Kansas ever traversed the Rocky Mountains. Their inveterate enemies, the Alyetans, guard those passes, and even beyond, they must

encounter many hostile tribes, before they can reach the ocean. And this desperate expedition was undertaken with no other object, that we can discover, than to indulge in sentimental reflections and descriptions, which are said by the Quarterly to have 'great simplicity and beauty'!

Hunter's impudence is exceeded only by his ignorance. He says, 'The unbounded view of waters, the incessant and tremendous dashing of the waves along the shore, accompanied with a noise resembling the roar of loud and distant thunder, filled our minds with the most sublime and awful sensations, and fixed on them as immutable truths the tradition we had received from our old men, that the great waters divide the residence of the Great Spirit, from the temporary abodes of his red children. We here contemplated in silent dread the immense difficulties, over which we should be obliged to triumph after death, before we could arrive at those delightful hunting grounds, which are unalterably destined for such only as do good, and love the Great Spirit. We looked in vain for the stranded and shattered canoes of those, who had done wickedly. We could see none, and were led to hope they were few in number.'* All this is a clumsy fabrication. The Osages occupy a country of boundless plains. They know nothing of the ocean, nor do they believe, that the land of departed spirits is beyond it. The Heaven of the Indians is as sensual as the Mahometan paradise, and every tribe places it in situations, and fills it with objects, most familiar and agreeable,

> 'And thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company.'

The Osages know nothing of canoes, and we have the best authority for saying, that there is not one in the nation. And yet their departed friends are sent over an ocean of which they never heard, in vessels such as they never saw!

Their opinion of the condition of the soul after death, is derived from their habits and modes of life. Their land of spirits is an extensive *prairie*, peopled with their friends, filled with game, and abounding in all that an Indian can desire. When they are buried, their clothes and other necessary articles are buried with them, that they may not suffer in the country for which they have departed. Every warrior

* Hunter's Narrative, p. 77.

has a horse, which is never used but in war. This horse, with his saddle and accoutrements upon him, is brought to his master's grave after death, and is placed directly over it. He is then shot in the forehead, and there left, ready to be mounted by his master, on their arrival in the land of departed spirits.

We intended to expose Hunter's statements, respecting the courtship of the Indians, his trash about their materia medica, and many other topics, which he has introduced into his book. But we have exhausted our own patience, and probably that of our readers. It is evident, that the compiler of Hunter's work had examined the preceding accounts of the Indians, which have been published. But he was not able to discriminate between the different customs of differing tribes, and has therefore described the Osages and the neighboring nations, as possessing customs of which they have no knowledge. Among others, he speaks of throwing the tomahawk, a well known amusement with the northern Indians, but never practised in the southwest. The pipe tomahawk, which alone they use, is wholly unfit for this purpose. He describes the rifle as the common weapon of men and boys. But that instrument is very seldom used by the Indians of the plains, and, in fact, it has not been known among them till within a few years. Probably not one in ten is armed with it. The bow and arrow are their most efficient weapons against the Buffalo, and the northwest fusils, as they are called, are the most common firearms. He also describes the boys, as working with the women. A most disgraceful employment, utterly unknown among any of the Indians. And he speaks of wild rice, as an article of food, which in fact is found in no part of the country, where he pretends to have lived. These more minute circumstances he could not mistake, if he described facts only as they existed. And if not, it is in such descriptions, that his falsehoods become most apparent. But one of his grossest errors relates to the Ottawas. He speaks, in many places of his work, of the Ottawas, as a tribe of southwestern Indians.* He had heard, or his compiler had read, of such a tribe, and they placed it in a most unfortunate situation. There is not an Ottawa west of the Mississippi, nor south of the heads of the Illinois river.

* See pages 41, 95, 198, 200.

We shall close this part of our subject, by submitting the following testimony in confirmation of our statement, respecting the imposture of Hunter. The originals of the letters here published we have in our hands, with their proper signatures. They are written by gentlemen of the highest respectability, whose declarations may be received with perfect confidence. Of General Clark, the companion of Lewis in their adventurous journey to the Pacific Ocean, formerly Governor of Missouri, and now Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St Louis, it is unnecessary to speak. His character is too well known to require any encomium from us. He writes as follows.

St Louis, Sept. 3, 1825.

Sir,

In answer to your inquiries respecting the man, who calls himself Hunter, I have no hesitation in stating, that he is an impostor. Many of the most important circumstances mentioned by him are, to my certain knowledge, barefaced falsehoods. I have been acquainted in this country since 1803, and have resided in it since 1807, and for eighteen years have been connected with the Indian Department. It is not possible he could have lived with the tribes he mentions, and gone through with the scenes he describes, without some knowledge of him, and of his history, having reached me. William Clark.

The next letter is from Mr Vasquez, subagent for the Kansas. He is an intelligent man, a Spaniard by descent, and well acquainted with the Indians in that country. He accompanied Pike in his journey to the Internal Provinces.

St Louis, Sept. 3, 1825.

Sir,

I have received your note of yesterday. In answer to the inquiries contained therein, I can say, that I have been engaged in trade with the Kansas tribe of Indians nineteen years, between the years 1796 and 1824, and that, during the whole of that time, there was no white man a prisoner, of any age or description among them; nor do I believe that such a circumstance has occurred for the last thirty years. Baronet Vasquez.

The writer of the next letter, Major Choteau, has perhaps more knowledge of the Osages, than any other man living. It was owing to his exertions, and those of his brother, that a considerable portion of the tribe separated from the others,

and left the Missouri for the Arkansas. They are both natives of Louisiana, enjoying in the decline of life, with unblemished characters, the fruits of their exertions among the Osages for half a century.

St Louis, Sept. 3, 1825.

SIR,

In answer to your favor, I have the honor to state, that my acquaintance with the Osages has been since 1775 to this day, in the capacity of trader, agent, or otherwise, and that during that period, there never was any white boy living or brought up by them. I can further add, that had this circumstance happened, it could not but have come to my knowledge. P. CHOTEAU.

One more letter, written by Mr Dunn, a member of the Missouri Legislature, shall close this part of our testimony. This was the gentleman, it will be recollected, whom Hunter states to have been his great patron and friend, and for whom he was named, after his return, as a mark of grateful affection. We will only add, that our personal inquiries of the most respectable inhabitants at Cape Giradeau, where Hunter says he was so long at school, satisfied us, that no such person, as he describes himself to have been, was, under any name, ever known there.

Cape Giradeau, Sept. 4, 1825.

SIR,

I have the honor to state, in answer to your inquiries on the subject, that I have never known such a person as John Dunn Hunter, the reputed author of Memoirs of a captivity among the Osage Indians, between the years 1804 and 1820. I have been a resident in the vicinity of this place for the last twenty years, during which time I have never heard of a person, bearing the same name with myself, in this country. I am, therefore, confident, that the author alluded to is an impostor, and that the work issued under his name is a fiction, most probably the labor of an individual, who has never seen the various tribes of Indians of whom he speaks.

I can further state, that I have known no man of the name of Wyatt in this county, who seems to have been mentioned as one of the friends of Hunter. JOHN DUNN.

The facts exhibited in these letters need no comment. With every advantage for knowing the reality, it is not possible for the authors of them to mistake in so plain a matter. It should be kept in mind, that it was among the Osage and Kansas Indians, that Hunter represents the years of his captivity

chiefly to have been passed. The following is his account of the name he assumed. 'While with the Indians, they had given me the name of Hunter, because of my expertness and success in the chase; I therefore determined on retaining that as my patronymic. And as Mr John Dunn, a gentleman of high respectability, of Cape Giradeau county, state of Missouri, had treated me in every respect more like a brother or son, than any other individual had, since my association with the white people, I adopted his for that of my distinctive, and have since been known by the name of John Dunn Hunter.'* In the same connexion he mentions having passed several weeks at school, in the neighborhood of Cape Giradeau.

We have thought it our duty to make this exposition to the public, because Hunter's book has gained considerable popularity, and because it is highly important that, if we cannot advance, we should not at least go backward, in our knowledge of the history and character of the Indians. The world has been amused with fable and fiction enough on this subject, and it is time now to look for facts, or be contented with the small stock that exists. Besides, we have, like other persons we presume, an inherent aversion to being imposed on, and feel it to be a demand of justice, that any person, guilty of so gross a fabrication, and so impudent a breach of good faith to the public, should be held up to open reprobation.

It was our first purpose to add in this place other remarks, respecting certain topics discussed in the review of Hunter's book in the Quarterly. It would not be easy to find an article of the same length, containing more blunders, if not misrepresentations, or tinged with a more thoroughly false coloring from beginning to end, and particularly in relation to the events on the frontiers during the late war. This subject may possibly be resumed on a future occasion, and a general view be presented of the comparative conduct of the British and American governments towards the Indians, and the policy and objects of each, both in peace and war. These particulars are very imperfectly understood, even in this country, and when fully developed, we hesitate not to say, that they will reflect the highest credit on the American government, at the same time they expose not more the unjustifiable mea-

* Hunter's Narrative, Life of the Author, p. 134.

sures of the British cabinet, than the ignorance, or perverseness, of British writers.*

Mr Halkett's work is a compilation from the standard writers, and contains an impartial and temperate account of the former condition of the Indians, and a review of the efforts, which have been made for their improvement. The author feels like a man of humanity, and writes like a man of sense. He has, however, as most writers upon these topics have done before him, overrated the amount of the aboriginal population, at the era of the discovery.

The statements upon this subject were certainly made in a spirit of exaggeration, by the early adventurers to America. Cautious statistical observations were not characteristics of the age; nor was the condition of the people, then recently made known to the old world, favorable for any probable estimate of their numbers. They were roaming through interminable forests, seeking a precarious subsistence; sending out their war parties to destroy their enemies, or providing for their own safety; showing themselves here today, and far distant tomorrow.† There is no reason to believe, that

* The Quarterly Reviewers seem to have as strong a propensity for discovering American prodigies, as for misrepresenting American character, attainments, history, and institutions. They have, as we have seen, recently discovered Hunter, and made an elaborate eulogy upon him and his story. Some ten years ago, a vagrant sailor, who had been shipwrecked on the west coast of Africa, was picked up in the streets of London. This man said he was an American, called his name Robert Adams, and pretended to have penetrated far into the interior of Africa, and to have resided for some time at Timbuctoo. All this was credited by the knowing ones in London, and the illiterate sailor was made to dictate a book, which appeared in a majestic quarto, and came out under the patronage of noblemen, literati, and divers dignitaries of the nation. The Quarterly took it up, as a matter of course, with all due gravity, and bestowed much learning, and many sage comments, on this marvellous narrative; and by quoting Arabic, and various other tongues, settled, in the most summary manner, many difficult points of geography in the centre of Africa, and particularly the situation, character of the people, government, trade, and internal polity of the mysterious city of Timbuctoo. From that day to this, Robert Adams, the American sailor, has not been heard of. The Quarterly has now and then feebly reiterated some of its former statements, but no incident has occurred, which could in the remotest degree corroborate the story of Adams.

The imposture was fully detected in this Journal at the time, (North American Review, Vol. V. p. 11, No. xiii, for May; and p. 204, No. xiv, for July, 1817,) from testimony which amounted to a demonstration, and which no attempt has since been made to invalidate.

† No work abounds in more exaggerated statements of the Indian population, than de la Viga's narrative of the expedition of Ferdinand de Soto; and we consider it, as a historical document, entitled to about as much credit as the

any essential change has occurred in their mode of life. Hunting was the only occupation of the men, and it was followed at all seasons, casually, as opportunity or necessity dictated; but principally in the winter, when the animals were in the best condition, and when alone their skins were valuable. They then retired to their hunting grounds; not in bands, for the game would soon have disappeared before them. But almost every family selected a residence for itself, remote from others, where the game was abundant, and where they were employed in procuring and preserving meat and skins for immediate and future use. When this season passed away, they returned to their villages, where a little corn was raised with savage indolence, and consumed with savage improvidence. These annual migrations were frequently restrained, and sometimes prevented by the offensive and defensive operations, rendered necessary by their mutual and eternal hostilities; and a scarcity of provisions was the consequence, which led, as elsewhere, to famine and death. Many well authenticated accounts have reached us, of the most frightful sufferings under these circumstances.

It is obvious that such habits could exist only in a boundless forest, and among a sparse population; for where each family requires a deer, or an elk, or a buffalo, for its daily consumption, the herd, which is to supply such a demand, must occupy an extensive district of country.

Their powers of repletion and of abstinence were equally remarkable; and Mc Kenzie and other travellers relate facts

account of the Argonautic expedition; and it is not less difficult to reconcile its topographical details, than it is those of the Colchian adventurers with the general features of the country. One hundred and forty years after his expedition, the territory upon the Mississippi became well known to the French, and no traces then remained of his cities within sight of one another, of his crowded population and cultivated fields. Everything was then, as it had been found elsewhere in the new world, and as it remained, till changed by civilised man. So it doubtless had existed for ages. It is surprising, that any credit has ever been given to this work. Mr Nuttall has calculated the marches of de Soto's army, as they are recorded; and an estimate of the courses and distances will carry us north of Lake Superior. It is stated with perfect gravity in the history, that two Indian Chiefs quarrelled for the honor of sitting at table at the right hand of de Soto!

The Natchez have always been represented as a numerous and powerful tribe, and it has been often asserted in proof of this, that they had five hundred *Suns*, or Chiefs, subordinate to the great Sun. The origin of this story will be found in Du Pratz, who states, that it was related to him by one of these Chiefs, as a tradition, which had descended to them from their ancestors. And this is history!

upon this subject, which, however they may be at variance with our own experience and observation, we have no right to doubt. Captain Franklin states the daily allowance to each Indian and half breed, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, to be three white fish, averaging four pounds each, or two wild geese, or eight pounds of solid Moose meat.

As long as the destruction of the game was restricted to an adequate supply of the wants of the Indians themselves, it is probable there was little diminution in the number of animals, and that here, as in other cases, population and subsistence had preserved an equal ratio to each other. But when the white man arrived with his cloths, guns, and other tempting articles, and the introduction of new wants drove the Indians to greater exertions to supply them, animals were killed for their furs and skins. An important article of exchange was made known to the Indians, which they were stimulated to procure, and an alarming declension became visible in the animals, essential to their support. Their population, scanty as it was, soon began to press upon their means of subsistence, and the operation of these causes was accelerated by the introduction of firearms, and the consequent facility afforded for destroying the game. The occupation of the hunter ere long became laborious, and his labor was rewarded with diminished success. He found the means of supplying his family decreased, as their attachment to the articles brought among them, and their wants, increased. Game became less abundant, and receded from the circle of destruction, which advanced with the advancing settlements.

We are satisfied that this cause has had a strong influence in reducing the Indian population. Its operation has been aided by other circumstances; by the small pox, whose ravages have been sometimes frightful; and by ardent spirits, which have prostrated the mental and physical energies, and debased the character of the Indians, in the immediate vicinity of the white settlements; but whose general effect, we are strongly inclined to believe, has been greatly overrated.

Among the remote tribes, spirits are scarcely ever seen, and they do not constitute an article of general use, even among those, who are much nearer to us. The regulations of the government are such, and they are so rigidly enforced, that the general introduction of spirits into the Indian country

is too hazardous for profitable speculation. Nor could it bear the expense of very distant transportation; for if sold and consumed, a corresponding reduction must be made in clothing, guns, powder, and lead, articles essential to the successful prosecution of their hunting expeditions, and without which the trader would soon find his credits unpaid, and his adventure equally ruinous to the Indians and himself.

But their own ceaseless hostilities, as indefinite in their objects, as in their duration, have, more than any other cause, led to the melancholy depopulation, traces of which are everywhere visible through the unsettled country; less, perhaps, by the direct slaughter, which these hostilities have occasioned, than by the change of habits incident to their prosecution, and by the scarcity of the means of subsistence, which have attended the interruption of the ordinary employments of the Indians. There is reason to believe, that firearms, by equalising the physical power of the combatants, have among these people, as in Europe, lessened the horrors of war.

It will be observed, that in this brief analysis of the causes, which have accompanied and accelerated the progress of Indian depopulation, we have not taken into view the situation of the small tribes in New England and Virginia, at the first settlement of these countries, and subsequently to that period. The stranger and the native were there soon brought into hostilities, and it is difficult to separate the effect of these, from the operation of other causes.

We shall refer to a few facts, in support of the speculations in which we have indulged; and as the scenes of their occurrence are separated from us by a wide interval of time or space, the white man cannot be accused of causing the depopulation, of which they are striking evidences.

Father Sagard, in 1632, estimated the Wyandots at fifty thousand, and after making all proper allowances for the good father's credulity, and for the difficulty attending even a probable enumeration, still their numbers must have been very great. In 1645, they were reduced, by war and famine, to a miserable remnant, who fled before the Iroquois, their enemies, and sought refuge with the Sioux in the country west of Lake Superior.

In 1805, when Lewis and Clark ascended the Missouri, they found an intelligent man, named Jesso, living with the

Mandans. This man informed them, that when he arrived there, twenty years before, there were five inhabited villages, and four, which had been then recently abandoned. The remains of all these were distinctly visible, and were traced by the exploring party. At that time, the number was reduced to three, and now there is but one remaining. In 1763, the Arickarees, when first visited by Colonel Choteau, had thirteen villages. In 1804, they had three, and they have now but two; and one of these has been formed by a union of several dispersed bands. A woman of the Snake tribe accompanied the same party, as an interpreter. She had been taken prisoner many years before, and when they arrived at her native tribe, and of which her brother was the Chief, she found, that during the period of her captivity, they had lost more than half their people.

The Indians, in that extensive region, are to this day far beyond the operation of any causes, primary or secondary, which can be traced to civilised man, and which have had a tendency to accelerate their progressive depopulation. And yet their numbers have decreased with appalling rapidity. They are in a state of perpetual hostility, and it is believed there is not a tribe between the Mississippi and the Pacific, which has not some enemy to flee from or to pursue. The war flag is never struck upon their thousand hills, nor the war song unsung through their boundless plains.

We have only stated a few prominent facts; but, were it necessary, many others might be adduced to prove, that the decrease in the number of the Indians, whatever it may be, has been owing more to themselves, than to the whites. To humanity it is indeed consolatory to ascertain, that the early estimates of aboriginal population were made in a spirit of exaggeration; and that, although it has greatly declined, still its declension may be traced to causes, which were operating before the arrival of the Europeans, or which may be truly assigned, without any imputation upon the motives of the first adventurers or their descendants.

But after all, neither the government nor people of the United States have any wish to conceal from themselves, nor from the world, that there is upon their frontiers a wretched, forlorn people, looking to them for support and protection, and possessing strong claims upon their justice and humanity.

These people received our forefathers in a spirit of friendship, aided them to endure privations and sufferings, and taught them how to provide for many of the wants, with which they were surrounded. The Indians were then strong, and we were weak; and, without looking at the change which has occurred, in any spirit of morbid affectation, but with the feelings of an age accustomed to observe great mutations in the fortunes of nations and of individuals, we may express our regret, that they have lost so much of what we have gained. The prominent points of their history are before the world, and will go down unchanged to posterity. In the revolution of a few ages, this fair portion of the continent, which was theirs, has passed into our possession. The forests, which afforded them food and security, where were their cradles, their home, and their graves, have disappeared, or are disappearing, before the progress of civilisation.

We have extinguished their council fires, and ploughed up the bones of their fathers. Their population has diminished with lamentable rapidity. Those tribes that remain, like the lone column of a fallen temple, exhibit but the sad relics of their former strength; and many others live only in the names, which have reached us through the earlier accounts of travellers and historians. The causes, which have produced this moral desolation, are yet in constant and active operation, and threaten to leave us, at no distant day, without a living proof of Indian sufferings, from the Atlantic to the immense desert, which sweeps along the base of the Rocky Mountains. Nor can we console ourselves with the reflection, that their physical declension has been counterbalanced, by any melioration in their moral condition. We have taught them neither how to live, nor how to die. They have been equally stationary in their manners, habits, and opinions; in everything but their numbers and their happiness; and although existing more than six generations, in contact with a civilised people, they owe to them no one valuable improvement in the arts; nor a single principle, which can restrain their passions, or give hope to despondence, motive to exertion, or confidence to virtue.

Slow and embarrassing has been the progress of all barbarous tribes, through that interval of their history, which

follows the first rude efforts to procure a bare subsistence, and which is terminated by the operation of those causes, that eventually lead to everything desirable in civilised life. Nor is it easy to assign the true reason for these changes, and we may seek it in vain, either in fabulous or authentic history. The first impulse may be given by accidental circumstances, by a Hercules or a Manco Capac, whose labors tradition has distorted, while it has perpetuated them. This wide interval of stationary existence is occupied by many tribes, in very different stages of improvement, from the Bosjesman and the Eskimaux, antipodes in residence, but exhibiting equally the lowest state of human degradation, to the comparatively polished hordes, who live now as they have always lived, among the earliest monuments of history and tradition. There the Arab has remained, as unchanged as his cloudless sky and sandy desert, and the Scythian Nomades yet roam through the Asiatic wastes, as they did in the days of Herodotus.

Efforts, however, have not been wanting, to reclaim the Indians from their forlorn condition; but with what hopeless results, we have only to cast our eyes upon them to ascertain. Whether the cause of this failure must be sought in the principles of these efforts, or in their application, has not yet been satisfactorily determined; but the important experiments, which are now making, will, probably, ere long put the question at rest. During more than a century, great zeal was displayed by the French Court, and by many of the dignified French ecclesiastics, for the conversion of the American aborigines in Canada; and learned, and pious, and zealous men devoted themselves with noble ardor, and intrepidity, to this generous work. At what immense personal sacrifices we can never fully estimate. And it is melancholy to contrast their privations and sufferings, living and dying, with the fleeting memorials of their labors. A few external ceremonies, affecting neither the head nor the heart, and which are retained like idle legends among some of the aged Indians, are all that remain to preserve the recollection of their spiritual fathers; and we have stood upon the ruins of St Ignace, on the shores of Lake Huron, their principal missionary establishment, indulging those melancholy reflections, which must always press upon the mind, amid the fallen monuments of human piety.

The great error of the Catholic fathers was in the importance, which they attached to speculative creeds, and unmeaning ceremonies; and in their neglect to teach their Neophytes any arts, which could be useful to them. Frivolous questions assumed a very false importance; and among other instances of this folly, it was gravely referred to the Doctors of the Sorbonne, to decide whether beavers' tails might be eaten in Canada in lent. The consequence of all this was, that no valuable nor permanent impression was made upon the Indians, and the separation of the shepherd and the flock soon scattered the latter among the forests, unsettled in their opinions, and unfitted by habit for the only pursuit before them.

The efforts, which benevolent individuals and associations are now making through the United States, in cooperation with the government, are founded upon more practical principles, and promise more stable and useful results. We consider any attempt utterly hopeless, to change the habits or opinions of those Indians, who have arrived at years of maturity, and all we can do for them is to add to the comforts of their physical existence. Our hopes must rest upon the rising generation. And, certainly, many of our missionary schools exhibit striking examples of the docility and capacity of their Indian pupils, and offer cheering prospects for the philanthropist. The union of mental and physical discipline, which is enforced at these establishments, is best adapted to the situation of the Indians, and evinces a sound knowledge of those principles of human nature, which must be here called into active exertion. A few years will settle this important question; and we have no doubt, that on small reservations, and among reduced bands, where a spirit of improvement has already commenced, its effects will be salutary and permanent.

But we confess that, under other circumstances, our fears are stronger than our hopes. Where the tribes are in their original state, with land enough to roam over, and game enough to pursue, they not only do not feel the value of our institutions, but are utterly opposed to them. Young men, sent from the missionary establishments among such tribes, may be Indians in blood and color, but they will be whites in habits, feelings, and opinions. They cannot be hunters, for

time and experience can alone qualify them for these pursuits, which will be found incompatible with the whole course of their education. Nor can they, without such pecuniary means as few will be able to command, become successful farmers. They will be strangers in their native land, exciting jealousy and suspicion, and seeking in vain one kindred feeling. And if they should receive or acquire any property, their Indian relations, in conformity with invariable custom, would live with them in entire indolence, until it was exhausted. What hopes or employment are left for them under these circumstances? We apprehend, that in too many instances they would seek refuge in excessive ebriety; and this has been remarked upon the frontiers, as the fate of almost every Indian, who has been educated in our settlements. But we have too much respect for the pious men, engaged in this mighty effort, and feel too deep an interest in the result, to wish to discourage their labors by any untimely forebodings. The final issue must be left to the unerring test of experience.

A different plan has been suggested by the Executive Department of the government, and recommended to Congress. This plan contemplates certain conventional arrangements with the various tribes, east of the Mississippi, by which they may be induced to abandon their present places of residence, and remove to the country west of that river. The able and excellent statesmen, with whom it had its origin, have probably, in surveying the condition of the Indians, derived no hope for the future, from a retrospect of the past; and they felt, that the situation of this hapless people pressed upon the responsibility of the government, and the character of the country. But we are seriously apprehensive, that in this gigantic plan of public charity, the magnitude of the outline has withdrawn our attention from the necessary details, and that, if it be adopted to the extent proposed, it will exasperate the evils that we are all anxious to allay.

Migratory, as our Indians are, they all have, with few exceptions, certain districts which they have occupied for ages; to which they are attached by all the ties which bind men, white or red, to their country; and where their particular habits, and modes of life, have become accommodated to the nature of the animals, which furnish their subsistence. The larger quadrupeds, whose flesh is used for food, the buffalo,

the moose, the elk, the deer, the bear, the caribou, and the musk ox, are not found in any single quarter of country, and very different modes of taking and killing them are used, founded on their various habits, and acquired by long experience. This is also the case with the fur bearing animals, the muskrat, the raccoon, the otter, and the beaver. And so with respect to other articles of food, the various kinds of fish, wild rice, roots, and berries.

Providence, which tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, has distributed these productions through the country with an impartial hand, and the Indians have availed themselves of the food thus spontaneously offered to them, and have learned the mode of taking, preparing, and preserving it. A removal through eight degrees of latitude, and fifteen degrees of longitude, will bring many of them to a country, of whose animal and vegetable productions they are ignorant, and will require them to make great changes in their habits, to accommodate themselves to the new circumstances, in which they may be placed;* changes, which we, flexible as we are, should make with difficulty, and with great sacrifices of health and life. It is no slight task for a whole people, from helpless infancy to the decrepitude of age, to abandon their native land, and seek in a distant, and perhaps barren region, new means of support. The public papers inform us, that an attempt was made this season in Ohio, by the authorised agents of the government, to induce the Shawnese to remove to the west, and that liberal offers were made of money, provisions, and land. But it seems they declined, alleging that they were happy and contented in their present situation, and expressing their dissatisfaction with the nature of the country offered to them.

But this is not all. Many of the tribes, as we have already seen, east and west of the Mississippi, are in a state of active warfare, which has existed for ages. The Chippewas are hereditary enemies of the Sioux, and the Sacs and Foxes have recently joined the former in the war; and most of the Algonquin tribes, the Delawares, Shawnese, Kickapoos, Mia-

* These observations do not apply to the removal of the Creeks. Many of their own people, and still more of their kindred tribes, have removed west of the Mississippi. And the country offered to them there, is in its climate similar to their own.

mies, and others, are in the same relation to the Osages. How are these tribes to exist together? As well might the deer associate with the wolf, and expect to escape with impunity. The weak would fall before the strong. Parcel out the country as we may among them, they will not be restrained in their movements by imaginary lines, but will roam where their inclination may dictate. There is a strong tendency to war, in the whole system of Indian education and institutions. How is the young man to boast of his exploits, at the great war dance and feast of his band, as his father has done before him, unless he can find an enemy to encounter? How can he wear on his head the envied feathers of the war Eagle,* and one for each adventure; or paint upon his body a vermilion mark for each wound, if he must pursue game only, and never travel the war path? A cordon of troops, which should encircle each tribe, might keep them all in peace together. But without such a display of an overwhelming military force, we should soon hear, that the war dance was performed, the war song raised, and that the young men had departed in pursuit of fame, scalps, and death. And this scene would be more tremendous, as the Indians were more compressed. They could then neither conceal themselves from the pursuit of their enemies, nor flee from their vengeance.

But it may well be asked, how are we to afford the Indians any aid? How are we to preserve them from decline and extinction? And we must confess, that these questions are not easily to be answered. Some will remove beyond the

* The feathers of this bird, the *Falco fulvus* of Wilson, are highly esteemed by the Indians. No person is permitted to wear them, who has not been engaged with an enemy; and as one is worn for each adventure, they are *visible* chronicles of the deeds of the warriors. He who has arrived at years of maturity, and is destitute of these evidences of daring, is little better than a squaw. They are tied to the hair, and are admirably adapted to give effect to the whole Indian costume.

The bird itself is called the Calumet Eagle, and is among the American birds, what the lion is among quadrupeds. These eagles fly rapidly, and their descent is attended with a sound, which is heard at a considerable distance, and which is a signal to all other birds to disappear.

Their evident superiority has led to the veneration in which they are held. They are rare, and killed with difficulty. A hole is sometimes dug and slightly covered, and here a hunter will watch day after day, with a bird in his hand to entice and take the eagle. At other times a deer is killed, and a covert made near it, where equal patience is displayed, till a successful shot secures the prize. A horse is sometimes given for a feather.

Mississippi. But this will be done gradually, as their circumstances may require, and as their safety may permit. Others will remain, and perhaps become incorporated with our population.

The whole subject, however, is involved in great doubt and difficulty, and it is better to do nothing, than to hazard the risk of increasing their misery. For ourselves, we think, that the efforts of the government should be limited to certain general objects and regulations. That the laws, regulating trade and intercourse with them, should be revised, and their injunctions and prohibitions rendered more plain in execution. That the officers of the Department should be increased, and stationed at every important point of the frontier, to soothe and encourage the Indians, to enforce the observance of the laws, and to watch the conduct of the traders. That neither expense nor exertions should be spared, to prevent the introduction of whiskey into the country, and that the Indians should be persuaded to pass the boundary line, as seldom as possible. That the acts of Congress should be extended to them, under that provision of the constitution, which allows the general government to regulate our intercourse with them, when in our settlements, where they are now lamentably exposed, and left without protection. That hunters and trappers should be excluded from their country. That, as the failure of any of their ordinary articles of subsistence is attended with frightful calamities, provisions should be sent to them occasionally, when suffering from want; that seed corn, domestic animals, and farming utensils, should be distributed among them, and that honest, zealous men should be employed to labor for them and with them. That they should be encouraged to hold separate property, and to divide their lands among families and individuals. That ten thousand dollars should be annually added to the appropriation for civilising them, until a satisfactory judgment can be formed, of the probable result of this experiment. And that, after all this, we should leave their fate to the common God of the white man and the Indian.

ART. VI.—*Fauna Americana; being a Description of the Mammiferous Animals inhabiting North America.* By RICHARD HARLAN, M. D. Philadelphia. 1825. A. Finley. 8vo. pp. 318.

THE object of this work is to present, under a systematic arrangement, a scientific history of all the mammiferous animals of North America, and it is probably the first attempt of the kind. The object, however, which is professed in its title, is not wholly followed up in the body of the work; the animals of Mexico being avowedly excluded from the description and arrangement, although, in the preface, an enumeration is given of those known to exist in that country. The number of animals, described within the region embraced by Dr Harlan's plan, is greater than we should have at first supposed to be now known to naturalists. He has been able to distinguish, he remarks, one hundred and fortyseven species, with considerable accuracy. From his preface we quote the following passage.

'A work, having for its object the illustration of the natural history of our country, cannot fail to prove interesting, and has long been a desideratum to naturalists. However unqualified for the task, I have nevertheless found ample room for additions, alterations, and improvements. On the *utility* of the undertaking it will be unnecessary to insist, when, on referring to the latest authorities who have treated of this subject, we are struck with the confusion, the errors, and the deficiencies, which still prevail. In the very latest work, Desmarest's Mammalogie, published in the year 1820, which professes to describe all the species of Mammalia hitherto known, the number inhabiting North America is limited to one hundred *species*. Of these many are described as uncertain, and his accounts of the manners and habits of most of them are at best deficient.'

What these additions, alterations, and improvements are; in what manner confusion has been reduced to order, errors corrected, and deficiencies supplied, may appear in the sequel. Meantime, to exhibit the author's labors within a small compass, we have prepared, and think proper to insert in this place, a catalogue of the animals described in his work, in their systematic order as marshalled by him. This will serve at once to show the field over which his labors have been

spread, and give those, who seldom consult books of this description, an opportunity of taking in, at a single view, the whole of the animals of this class, found in this part of North America. In order to assist in the discrimination of the names belonging to genera and species, those of genera are printed in small capitals, those of species in the common small type. Those genera and species introduced by Dr Harlan, as being first noticed, described, or named by him, are in italics, and those which have been only known in the fossil state, have an asterisk prefixed.

CLASS MAMMALIA.

Order I. Primates.

Homo. 1 sapiens. American Variety.

Order III. Carnivora.

Family Cheiroptera. Tribe Vespertilio.

Rhinopoma. 1 caroliniensis.

Vespertilio. 1 caroliniensis, 2 noveboracensis, 3 pruinosus, 4 arquatus.

Taphozous. 1 rufus.

Family Insectivora. First Division.

Sorex. 1 constrictus, 2 araneus, 3 parvus, 4 brevicaudatus.

Scalops. 1 canadensis, 2 *pennsylvanica.*

Condylura. 1 cristata, 2 longicaudata, 3 *macroura.*

Talpa. 1 europea.

Family Carnivora. First Tribe, Plantigrada.

Ursus. 1 arctos, 2 cinereus, 3 americanus, 4 maritimus.

Procyon. 1 (ursus) lotor.

Taxus. 1 (meles) labradoria, 2 jeffersonii.

Gulo. 1 arcticus.

Mustela. 1 vulgaris, 2 erminea, 3 *lutreocephala*, 4 vison, 5 canadensis, 6 martes.

Mephitis. 1 americana.

Lutra. 1 brasiliensis, 2 marina.

Canis. 1 familiaris, 2 lupus, 3 lycaon, 4 latrans, 5 nubilus, 6 vulpes, 7 argentatus, 8 decussatus, 9 virginianus, 10 fulvus, 11 cinereo-argenteus, 12 velox, 13 lagopus.

Felis. 1 concolor, 2 onca, 3 pardalis, 4 canadensis, 5 rufa, 6 fasciata, 7 montana, 8 aurea.

Tribe. Carnivorous Amphibious Animals. (Carnivora pinnipedia.)

Phoca. 1 cristata, 2 vitulina, 3 groenlandica, 4 fetida, 5 barbata, 6 (otaria) ursina.

Trichecus. 1 rosmarus.

Family Marsupialia.

Didelphis. 1 virginiana.

ORDER IV. GLIRES.

Section I.

CASTOR. 1 fiber.

**OSTEOPERA.* 1 **platycephala.*

FIBER. 1 zibethicus.

ARVICOLA. 1 amphibius, 2 xanthognatha, 3 *palustris*, 4 *hortensis*, 5 floridanus, 6 pennsylvanica.

LEMMUS. 1 hudsonius.

MUS. 1 rattus, 2 sylvaticus.

PSEUDOSTOMA. 1 bursarius.

GERBILLUS. 1 canadensis, 2 labradorius.

ARCTOMYS. 1 monax, 2 empetra, 3 ludoviciani, 4 tridecem-lineata, 5 franklinii, 6 richardsonii, 7 pruinosa, 8 parryii, 9 brachyura, 10 *latrans*, 11 rufa.

SCIURUS. 1 cinereus, 2 capistratus, 3 rufiventer, 4 niger, 5 magnicaudatus, 6 quadrivittatus, 7 lateralis, 8 grammurus, 9 striatus, 10 hudsonius, 11 ludovicianus.

PTEROMYS. 1 volucella.

HYSTRIX. 1 dorsata.

LEPUS. 1 americanus, 2 glacialis, 3 *virginianus*.

ORDER V. EDENTATA.

First Tribe. Tardigrada.

*MEGATHERUIM. 1 *cuvieri.

*MEGALONYX. 1 *jeffersonii.

ORDER VI. PACHYDERMATA.

First Family. Proboscidea.

ELEPHAS. 1 *primogenius.

*MASTODON. 1 *giganteum, 2 *angustidens.

Second Family. Pachydermata, properly so called.

SUS. 1 scrofa.

DICOTYLES. 1 torquatus.

TAPIRUS. 1 **mastodontoides.*

ORDER VII. PECORA.

Second Division. First Tribe.

CERVUS. 1 alces, 2 tarandus, 3 canadensis, 4 virginianus, 5 macrotis, 6 **americanus.*

Third Tribe.

ANTILOPE. 1 americana.

CAPRA. 1 montana.

OVIS. 1 ammon.

OVIBOS. 1 moschatus.

BOS. 1 americanus, 2 **bombifrons*, 3 **latifrons.*

ORDER VIII. CETA.

First Family. Cetacea Herbivora, Sirenia.

MANATUS. 1 latirostris.

RYTINA. 1 (STELLERUS) borealis.

Second Family. Ceta or Whales proper. First Division.

Delphinus. 1 coronatus, 2 delphis, 3 canadensis, 4 phocœna, 5 gladiator, 6 grampus, 7 leucas, 8 anarnachus.

Monodon. 1 monoceros, 2 microcephalus, 3 andersonianus.

Second Division.

Physeter. 1 macrocephalus, 2 trumpo.

Balæna. 1 mysticetus, 2 glacialis, 3 nodosa, 4 gibbosa, 5 gibbar, 6 boops, 7 rostrata.

Unless there is some oversight in making out this catalogue, which we presume there is not, the following table exhibits the number of species in each order; and, by way of comparison, we place by the side of it, a table given by the author, in his preface.

Orders.	*Number of Species.*	*Author's Table.*
1. Primates,	1	1
3. Carnivora,	62	60
4. Glires,	42	37
5. Edentata,	2	6
6. Pachydermata,	6	2
7. Pecora,	13	13
8. Ceta,	22	28
	148	147

It will be perceived, that, if this enumeration is to be trusted, and great care has been taken to make it accurate, the author's table is wrong in five orders out of seven. Two of these errors may, however, be attributed to an accidental transposition of numbers, viz. orders 5 and 6. For the rest, there seems to be no such excuse. He speaks, also, in the preface, of eleven fossil species; only ten are contained in the above list. He must, therefore, intend to include a fossil species of Manatus, which is neither named nor numbered, and which, if admitted, will make the number of the last order 23, and the total of all the orders 149.

In the construction of his orders, Dr Harlan appears to have followed the *Règne Animal* of Cuvier, and we have numbered them accordingly. The names, however, are adopted, partly from that author, and partly from Linnæus. Thus, for the first order, he retains the Linnæan denomination, Primates; although he excludes from it the bats, and, we presume, the monkeys also, which originally belonged to it. To the fourth order he gives the name Glires, instead of

the more modern and expressive one of Rodentia. To the seventh, the proper appellation, Ruminantia, is applied in the preface, but in the body of the work, this is discarded for Pecora; and so, also, Cetacea in the preface becomes Ceta in the sequel. There does not appear to be any sufficient reason for thus retaining the Linnæan names of a few of the orders, whilst their constitution, and the names also of all the others, are adopted from a different system. Names themselves are not originally of any very great consequence, yet they become so, when they have been employed for a long time to designate particular things. It is not, perhaps, in itself a matter of much importance, whether the first order of Mammalia be denominated Primates, or Bimana; but since it is generally known that the naturalists, who have severally adopted these names, constituted the order in a manner entirely different; that Cuvier places in it man alone, whilst Linnæus associated him with monkeys, lemurs, sapajous, and bats; the terms are gradually understood in a specific sense, and bear always the meaning attached to them by those, who first introduced them. At all events, the adoption of any new method of arrangement, or the use of any terms in a sense differing from that generally received, should be premised by some sufficient explanation.

It is stated in the preface, that 'twentyfive species are common to both continents, without including the cetaceous animals.' That is to say, about one fifth part of the quadrupeds, inhabiting North America, are common to it with the Eastern continent. Dr Harlan is too ready to admit the identity of species of the new, with others of the old world, or at least he does it without showing that deliberation, which the decision demands, and without apparently considering the doubts, which rest upon the subject. It certainly admits of a doubt, whether any species of animals is common to the two continents, except where it may have been transported from one to the other, by some accidental mode of conveyance, or unless it resides in the northern regions, and is capable of enduring the rigors of a polar winter, so that it may be supposed to have passed in some way from one continent to the other.

It is a general result of the observations, upon the distribution of both the vegetable and animal creation, that each

species appears originally to have inhabited some particular region, from which it has spread more or less extensively, according to its own nature, and the nature of the country in which it was first placed. Buffon remarked, that the animals of the old world were in general different from those of the new, and that the species common to both were such, as are able to endure the extreme cold of the arctic regions, and may therefore be supposed to have found a way from one continent to the other, where they approach very near together, and may have been formerly joined. Of the general truth of this statement, there is abundant proof. Whether there are not many individual exceptions is not so easily determined. All the largest, the most clearly described, and the most easily distinguished animals of the old world, are certainly peculiar to it; and although there may be in the new, animals closely resembling them, corresponding to them, and often mistaken for them, yet they are almost always specifically, and often generically distinct. Thus of the Proboscidean family, the living elephants are peculiar to the eastern continent; and fossil remains indicate the former existence in the western, of a race of animals resembling them in many important particulars, although generically distinct; whilst there is sufficient evidence, that a species of elephant, adapted by its structure to endure the cold of the northern regions, formerly existed in both. Of the celebrated ferocious animals of the feline race, we have not one. It is true we hear of the American tiger, and the American lion, but they are manifestly creatures smaller, less powerful, and less terrible. The wolf, on the contrary, whose constitution is hardy, and able to endure the rigors of a polar winter, is the same in Europe, in Asia, and in America. The two species of camel are confined to Asia and Africa. America has a genus, the Llamas, nearly allied, and not less adapted to the peculiar character of the countries in which it resides. The comparison might be carried farther, and it might be shown, that those species, which have been supposed common, have been small, obscure, imperfectly observed, not easily recognised, and incapable of that precise description, which may be given of the larger.

In confirmation of the same general view, it appears that the successive discovery of new and insulated portions of the

globe, as America and New Holland, has brought to light, not only new genera and species, but races of animals of a totally different kind, possessing strange, and before inconceivable characteristics. Thus, on the discovery of America, were first known those singular animals, the sloths, characterised by Buffon as defective monsters, and rude and imperfect attempts of nature; and the marsupial animals, which were then looked upon as strange and anomalous, in their structure and habits. In New Holland an entirely new order of things was opened to the eyes of naturalists. The world of nature, in that remote region, seemed to have been formed upon a new model. The marsupial animals, before considered as exceptions to the general rules of animal conformation, were here found to predominate. Elsewhere regarded as rarities, here there was little else, till, as exceptions to these exceptions, to the infinite disturbance of all quiet and old fashioned naturalists, the monotremous genera, and among them that strange beast, the ornithorhynchus, were brought to light; a tribe of animals, that seem to scorn classification, set rule and order at defiance, and although properly neither flesh, fowl, nor reptile, yet bear such resemblance to each, as to puzzle any one who shall attempt to fix their place in the system of nature.

Another fact to the same purpose is, that of the various animals which inhabit the arctic regions, and whose constitution renders it impossible for them to bear the journey across the tropics, probably not one is found in the antarctic. This is not only true of the land animals, but also of those inhabiting the sea, from the largest, down to the most minute and inconsiderable. It is remarked by MM. Peron and Le Sueur, that upon an examination, not merely of the Dorides, the Aplysias, &c. but carried down to the Holothurias, the Actinias, and the Medusas, or even still farther to the sponges, universally regarded as occupying the lowest rank of animal existence, it is found that out of the whole immense multitude of these antarctic animals, not one is known in the northern seas.

Dr Prichard, a most intelligent English writer, has given the subject a full consideration in his 'Researches into the Physical History of Man,' a work full of learning and ingenuity. After an examination of all the instances in which it

might be supposed, that species were common to the eastern and western continents, he arrives at the conclusions, that no animal is common to the warm parts of the two continents; that no European species is indigenous in both, which is not a native of countries north of the Baltic in one, and of Canada in the other; that no Asiatic species is found in America, except such as inhabit the northern parts of the Russian empire, and most of these in those districts which approximate to America, whilst some have left proofs of their existence there in their fossil remains, and some have even been traced through the intervening islands; and that scarcely any animal has an extensive range in the northern regions of either continent, which is not common to both. All these considerations point to the general inference, that these tribes are common to the two continents, because, from their locality and habits, they have been enabled in some way to effect a communication from one to the other; but that, originally, each continent had its peculiar stock of mammiferous animals, which has continued peculiar in all parts of the continents, except where such a communication may be conceived, in the course of ages, to have taken place.

It therefore appears highly probable, that, with the limitations made above, the species aboriginal in each continent are also peculiar to it. And although this may not be conclusively established, the result at least is inevitable, that it behoves naturalists to be very cautious in admitting the identity of American and foreign species; that it should not be done except after a thorough examination of both external and internal characters, and then only by the concurrent opinion of competent judges.

Dr Harlan is unfortunate in the connexion and arrangement of his species, particularly in the subdivisions of tribes, families, and subgenera. He in no place directly informs us, whose system of subdivisions he has adopted. In a work confined to the animals of a particular country, we can of course have only parts of a methodical arrangement, but it is of little use to introduce these parts, when the student has no clue, by which to discover what and where is the whole to which they belong. Divisions of this sort have no use or meaning, except in relation to one another. Class, order, genus, and species, are terms universally received and au-

thorised by long use; their extent and meaning are generally understood. But suborder, family, tribe, and subgenus, not to say section and division, are terms whose signification is by no means accurately defined. They are too often used in a vague sense, and by different authors in a very different one. There is a considerable uniformity in the arrangement of the animal kingdom, by naturalists, into the divisions of the first kind; they have proceeded commonly upon similar principles, and have arrived at results not very unlike. But with regard to the second kind, much diversity occurs, both in the principles by which authors have been governed in making them, and also in the meaning of the terms used to express them.

A beginner in natural history would be perpetually perplexed, and be liable to constant error, from the want of attention to this point, in the Fauna Americana. This work may be likely to fall into many such hands, and be taken as a guide in the study of this branch of science. It should, therefore, have been carefully guarded. How careless and superficial the author has been in this very particular, we proceed to show by a variety of examples.

The order, Carnivora, he subdivides into families according to Cuvier. The first family is that of Cheiroptera, containing animals of the bat kind. This family, as it appears, he subdivides into tribes, and immediately announces, without preparation, '*Tribe Vespertilio.*' Under this tribe, after inserting and describing the genus Rhinopoma, he introduces the *genus* Vespertilio, with which he gives the dental formula of Linnæus and Desmarest, marked 1 and 2, implying, as one would imagine, that reference was made to two subdivisions of the genus, but whether this was intended, or whether the formulæ were introduced merely for the purpose of comparison, does not appear, and we are left in doubt what use to make of them. Then follows the generic description, and one species numbered 1. Immediately after the description of this species, a new division comes upon us unexpectedly, entitled '1*st Division*, VESPERTILIO, *Geoff*,' with a dental formula differing slightly from that of Desmarest, a short description, and an enumeration of the species hitherto observed. Three species of Vespertilio are then described, which, without reference to that already described,

are numbered 1, 2, 3, and among them one which is not of those enumerated, but a page before, as the only ones belonging to this division.

Now it is hard to make anything of this, and yet the author, for aught we know, may have understood himself very well, and had a very clear object in what he has done. Still we do not keep up with him in his easy transition from genus to species, from species to division, and from division to species again. This, however, might have been accidental were it the only instance, but it is not so. Proceeding to the next family, Insectivora, we find immediately after the character of the family, a '1st *Division*,' intended to include the first *tribe* of this family, according to Cuvier, from whom in fact the description of its character is almost literally translated. Here is an instance of the vague use of terms, concerning which we have spoken. *Tribe* was used under the former family to designate a subdivision of the genera belonging to a family, whilst now the term *division* is used for a similar purpose, which, under the same family, was employed to stand for the parts of a subdivided genus. But although the first division, or, more properly, tribe of this family, is thus noticed and characterised, we look in vain for the second. This is entirely and unaccountably omitted, although there are two genera belonging to it, Condylura and Talpa, which stand thus in the work in a tribe to which they do not belong, and with a character to which they do not correspond.

The family Carnivora follows next, and this is by Cuvier divided into three tribes, Plantigrada, Digitigrada, and Amphibia. Genera belonging to all these tribes are contained in Dr Harlan's book, but he announces only two. The plantigrade animals are defined, (p. 45,) and called '1st *tribe*,' but we hear no more of tribes, till fifty pages farther onward we encounter the third tribe, Amphibia, which, however, is not called third, but is introduced simply thus, '*Tribe*. CARNIVOROUS AMPHIBIOUS ANIMALS (*carnivora pinnipedia*).' This method of arrangement, taken in good earnest, would actually include all the digitigrade animals, such as the weasel, fox, wolf, and cat, under the first tribe.

In the next order, Glires, a similar negligence occurs. This order is generally divided into two families, the charac-

ter of which is founded upon the clavicle, which is strong and powerful in one, and only rudimentary and imperfect in the other. The first of these is announced in its proper place, but is styled *section;* another term to express a division corresponding to those, which had been before introduced under a different name. Of the second we discover no intimation, although two genera are described, which are properly comprehended under it.

These are instances of carelessness, which ought not to have been suffered to appear in a scientific work, professing to remove confusion, correct errors, and supply deficiencies. They are so palpable, indeed, that were they not so numerous, one would have attributed them to inaccuracy of the press. There are others relating to the more minute details of this book, a few of which only can be noticed. The genus Phoca affords a memorable example of the loose and incomplete manner, in which the author treats his subject. This genus, it may be proper to premise, has been subdivided by Peron into two subgenera, one of which retains the denomination Phoca, the other has received that of Ortaria. Dr Harlan gives in the first place five dental formulæ, but without the smallest intimation of the purpose for which they are introduced; no use is made of them, no subdivision founded upon them, they have nothing to do with the two subgenera; they correspond to nothing which he has given us with regard to any other genus, except perhaps Vespertilio, which, as we have seen, is far from being so full of light, as to be able to impart any. Having described the genus, the subgenus Phoca is announced, which is numbered 1, and its character given. Then follow six species numbered from one to six, the sixth of which belongs to the subgenus Otaria, and is named Otaria with Phoca as a synonym, whilst the notice and character of subgenus 2, which should precede it, are omitted. What makes the matter worse is, that in the next sheet, into which the account of this genus extends for a few lines, a note is appended, containing the notice and character of Otaria, omitted in its proper place, a notice which no one would comprehend, who was not already acquainted with the history of the genus. The perspicuity, moreover, of a work of science should not depend upon the contingency of the au-

thor's perceiving his errors and omissions, in season to correct them in the next proof.

Several errors occur in the arrangement of the names and synonyms of genera and species, which render it uncertain, what the name of the genus or species in question is really intended to be. Thus, under the genus *Procyon*, we find the species *Ursus* lotor; under *Taxus*, *Meles* labradorius; under *Rytina*, *Stellerus* borealis. This is explained by stating, that, in the first case the synonym of the species is placed instead of the name, the name being among the synonyms, whilst in the second and third the same mistake occurs with regard to the synonym of the genus. This at least appears to be the explanation. There are errors of a different kind in the names. Thus, we have a genus called *Taphozous taphiens*, the French name, (les Taphiens) or the name of another genus having crept in by accident. The genus Felis is styled, 'Cat or Felis;' and in the same way we have 'Pecari or Dicotyles,' and 'Cachalot, Physeter.'

The style of Dr Harlan's work is loose, and indicative of haste and want of revision. Two or three examples will explain our meaning.

'The above *description*,' says the author, 'is taken principally from a prepared specimen in the possession of Mr C. Bonaparte, and *was killed* on the Blue Mountains, in the state of Pennsylvania.' p. 198. 'The *plane* of the occiput represents a *semicircle*.' p. 273. 'We are credibly informed by an *eyewitness of the fact*, that the Norwegian rat *did not make its appearance* in the United States, any length of time previous to the year 1775.' p. 149.

We intended to make a variety of other criticisms, both in matters of science and language, which are omitted, because, as it is impossible to notice them all, it is sufficient to have introduced enough to justify the opinions we have expressed. The work is, in fact, so constantly disfigured by instances of looseness, carelessness, and inaccuracy, as to destroy confidence in the fidelity of its execution. The author is evidently not deficient in knowledge of natural history; his errors have mainly arisen, as it appears to us, from the inconsiderate haste with which his work has been written, and hurried through the press. As further proofs of this haste, it may be stated, that Dr Harlan has inserted in his *Addenda*,

the description of a number of species, discovered by Messrs Lewis and Clarke, and described in the account of their Expedition up the Missouri many years since, a work to which he repeatedly refers in the body of his book; and that, for the descriptions of nearly all the species of the last genus in the volume, Balæna, he refers us to *Bonnaterre's Cetologie*, instead of translating or abridging these descriptions, a task of which he has not been in other places very sparing.

There is almost a total want in this work of that mechanical assistance, which may be derived from a skilful application of the mode of printing, to the illustration of the details of natural history, Of the advantages which proceed from this source, even Cuvier has not disdained to avail himself in his great work, upon the classification of the animal kingdom; and whoever has had occasion to consult it must have perceived the immense facility, which is thus afforded to the student. It is only to appropriate a particular type to the names, and to the descriptions appertaining to each division and subdivision, and the eye catches at once the relative importance and extent of what relates to each. This mechanical aid should never be forgotten; it is of no trifling assistance even to the most experienced naturalist. But in the Fauna Americana, with a few exceptions, both titles and text are in the same dead unvaried type; the former in italics, the latter in roman; so that the clumsy expedient is adopted, of repeating the words genus, subgenus, and species, whenever these divisions occur.

It will be observed upon reference to the catalogue, on a preceding page of this article, that among the animals of North America, Dr Harlan has inserted a considerable number of fossil species. In fact, the whole of those of the order Edentata, and all but one of the indigenous animals of the order Pachydermata, are fossil. The results which have been obtained, by the investigations of some European naturalists into the characters of fossil bones, have something in them grand and imposing. With regard more particularly to those of Cuvier, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the conclusions, at which he has arrived, possess all the certainty of which the subject is capable. The facilities afforded by his situation for the pursuit of this branch of study, the extent of his attainments in the comparative anatomy of living animals,

and, with all this previous qualification, the slow, cautious, and deliberate manner in which he comes to results, give him strong claims to our confidence. Yet it is hard to go along with him when he expresses his belief, that from the smallest remaining bone of any animal, it is possible to determine not only its order, but its genus and species; in short, to reconstruct its whole anatomy; just as it is possible for the mathematician, from any given equation of a curve, to demonstrate all its properties. That there is such a relation between the parts of the body of every animal, as is asserted by this distinguished anatomist, and that the peculiarity, which every species exhibits as a whole, is also impressed upon even the most minute part of its fabric, may be readily admitted, but that this character is cognisable in the fang of a cuspidatus, the smallest bone of the tarsus, or one of the extreme phalanges, exceeds our belief. We cannot forget, in expressing this opinion, the mistake of a European anatomist, second to but few of his time, who, in examining some fossil bones, placed an important fragment of the head in a reversed position, and thus gave an entirely new face to the animal. It would not be passing strange, could these antediluvian quadrupeds rise up in judgment against the philosophical disturbers of their remains, if they should exhibit metamorphoses, wrought by the hand of science, extremely inconvenient, and somewhat inconsistent with their former habits. The mammoth, perhaps, might not be sufficiently grateful to anatomists for the elephantine proboscis, so generously bestowed upon him; and the megalonyx might very reasonably prefer ranging the woods, a ferocious and majestic beast of prey, as Mr Jefferson describes him, to a life of idleness and inactivity, under the very different character of the three toed sloth of the antediluvian world, according to the award of Cuvier.

Seriously, we think that the splendid discoveries, which have resulted from the extraordinary attainments of the French anatomist, and we would not speak of them except with respect and confidence, are likely to lead others into very imperfect and crude speculations upon fossil bones. We do not object to the description of all such remains fully and accurately, in connexion with the description of the living animals of the country where they are found. This is proper, and indeed highly important and interesting. But we do

strenuously object to their erection into genera and species, except upon the most undoubted authority, and to their being thus unceremoniously embodied in the natural history of a country. Too much doubt must hang over the conclusions at which most naturalists arrive, on such points, to admit of so decided a step as this. Dr Harlan has thought otherwise. He has seen fit, upon the authority of a mutilated skull, found on the shore of the river Delaware, to erect a new genus, *osteopera;* and upon no better foundation, than a single molar tooth, exhumed in the western part of our country, has built a new extinct species of Tapir, which he has had the satisfaction of christening with his own hand. Farther than this; Dr Wistar, in a paper read to the American Philosophical Society, described certain fossil bones, presented by Mr Jefferson, which he believed to belong to species of the genera Cervus and Bos, but modestly forbears to systematise them. Our author has done this office for these neglected reliquiæ, and they accordingly figure among the mammalia of the United States, as the *Cervus Americanus*, *Bos bombifrons*, and *Bos latifrons*, all '*nobis*,' which last term, as some of our readers may need to be informed, signifies that the genus, or species, after which it is inserted, has been constituted and named by the naturalist in whose work it appears.

The consideration of this subject suggests another, which is of importance to the accuracy and soundness of American natural history. We mean the growing propensity of naturalists to construct new genera and species. This disposition is unphilosophical and productive of confusion. It is a departure from the true spirit of scientific investigation. It is not so easy a matter for men, of even good attainments in natural history, to determine whether a species has been before described and named, or not. So imperfect are the short descriptions which are often given, so loose and vague is the language of too many naturalists, so extremely difficult indeed is the task of clear description, and so few are there who perform it well, that the identification of a specimen with any known species or genus, is frequently a difficult task, and we should be very cautious in concluding because we cannot identify it, that it is therefore something new. The creation of a new genus in natural history is a weighty matter; it should not be lightly done, it should not be soon done; the

subject should be left for repeated consideration and consultation, and should not be ventured, except with the concurrence of more than one skilful naturalist, unless it be by some one whose attainments in science give his opinion weight and authority.

Much less importance is to be attached to the introduction of a new species, and still this requires far more hesitation, than most naturalists seem to feel. At any rate, it is not a matter which demands extraordinary haste. No particular evil results, if the animal in question goes without a legitimate name for a few short months. It is certainly a less evil, than that it should be taken for a new species, when it is in reality an old one, and be thus made to undergo the process of nomenclature a second time. Every new name, it must be recollected, contributes to swell the list of synonyms, already the burden of natural history. But it is the foible of scientific men, at the present day, that they are more anxious to make and promulgate discoveries, than to search out the truth. Some naturalists pride themselves vastly more upon having been the authors of new genera and species, than upon describing with accuracy those already known, ascertaining more exact marks of discrimination between them, or illustrating their character and habits; and yet he performs a far less useful service to science. We repeat, that the task of determining the character of an animal is by no means an easy one, and can be performed by few men with certainty.

Naturalists, of no mean celebrity, do indeed differ essentially in the conclusions at which they arrive, with regard to the same animal, even when possessed of equal means of judging, and equal qualifications. The simple inspection of any work of natural history is sufficient to show us, what confusion and uncertainty are introduced, by this proneness to making discoveries, and this overweening love of the fascinating pronoun *nobis*. The existence of this difficulty, and the obscurity consequent upon it, are admitted by the most eminent naturalists. It is remarked by Cuvier, that in the course of his investigations, he has sometimes found a single species, representing, by means of synonyms, several animals, so different frequently, that they did not even belong to the same genus; and sometimes, on the other hand, the same animal, reappearing in several subgenera and genera, and

even in different orders, as a distinct one. 'We have here an animal,' says Dr Harlan, speaking of the Rocky Mountain sheep, 'described for the first time in 1816, which has already been classed under four distinct genera, with nearly as many specific appellations.' To mend the matter, Dr Harlan places it under a fifth genus. For the pronghorned antelope, an animal of recent discovery, we have no less than half a dozen different names.

We cannot close this article, without expressing regret and strong disapprobation, at the manner in which are written two long notes in Dr Harlan's book, (pp. 140, 143,) concerning certain differences into which he has unluckily fallen with other naturalists, in describing and naming some species of the genus Arvicola. The contest maintained in these notes is quite below the dignity of science. With whom the fault rests, it is not for us to inquire, but we feel justified in saying, that, when personal jealousy is allowed to have an influence in constructing new genera and species, and when *nobis* is arrayed against *nobis* with an air of triumph, no good hope remains for the accuracy of investigations thus pursued, nor for the aid they will lend to the progress of genuine science.

ART. VII.—*Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, of the House of Representatives of the United States, to which were referred the Memorials of certain Merchants, praying Relief for Losses sustained by French Spoliations.* 1824.

THE claim of the citizens of the United States for French spoliations, is one of immense amount. Studious to avoid exaggeration, and to reduce our statements even within the severest truth, we rated, in an article in our last number, the whole amount of American claims for foreign spoliations of all kinds, at twenty millions of dollars. Our readers will probably think we greatly erred on the side of moderation, when it is recollected, that Messrs Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, in 1799, stated the claim for French spoliations alone

at fifteen millions, and that it has been sometimes computed, that, under the French imperial decrees, over fifty millions of American property were confiscated. If these estimates be thought extravagant, our own will be allowed to be exceedingly modest.

In our last number, we gave a very brief sketch of one portion of the French claims. Those claims may very suitably be divided into two general classes, those arising out of spoliations and other sources, prior to the Louisiana Convention in 1803; and those subsequent to that period, growing out of the outrages exercised upon our commerce, under the renowned imperial decrees. The state and prospects of these two sorts of claims are entirely dissimilar, and they will therefore require to be separately treated.

The few remarks which we made, in the article above mentioned, were confined to the claims of the first class, being such whose obligation is alleged by the claimants, to have devolved upon their own country, in consequence of a voluntary renunciation of them by the government of the United States, on behalf of its citizens, in consideration of certain renunciations made by the government of France, of political claims upon the United States. Having in our former remarks, for the sake of brevity, treated this claim as one, without distinctly severing from each other those portions that were, and those that were not, provided for by the Louisiana Convention, we shall now, for the sake of clearness, consider each class separately; a course of proceeding dictated by the very different ground, on which the two classes have been made to stand, by the measures pursued for their recovery.

We shall now consider the claims, which were excluded from the Louisiana Convention; and briefly relate the history of the manner, in which they arose, were prosecuted, and renounced. By the treaty of commerce and amity, concluded between the United States and France, in 1778, the principle of *free ships free goods* was solemnly recognised in the twentythird article, and an undisturbed liberty of trading to the enemies of either party, was respectively stipulated to each other by the United States and France. In violation of this article of the treaty, then in force, on the ninth of May 1793, the French National Convention passed

a decree,* declaring enemy's goods on board neutral vessels lawful prize, and directing the public and private armed vessels of France, to bring into port neutral vessels laden with provisions, and bound to an enemy's port.

On the appearance of this decree, Mr G. Morris, then our minister at Paris, remonstrated against it, and so far prevailed, that the National Convention, on the twentythird of the same month, declared, 'that the vessels of the United States are not comprised in the regulations of the decree of the ninth of May.' In communicating this gratifying declaration to Mr Morris, the French minister for foreign affairs, le Brun, observed, 'You will there find a new confirmation of the principles, from which the French people will *never depart*, with regard to their good friends and allies, the United States of America.' This letter of le Brun's was dated May 26th; and on the 28th of May, the declaration communicated in it was *revoked* by the National Convention! Such was the levity of that atrocious assemblage. The truth was, the owners of a French privateer, having captured a very valuable American ship, the Laurens, bribed the leaders of the Convention to rescind, on the twentyeighth, the declaration which they had made on the twentythird, and which the minister of foreign affairs had communicated to Mr Morris, on the 26th of May. So little disguise was necessary in these affairs, that the owners of the privateer boasted beforehand, that the declaration of May 23d would be rescinded.

Mr Morris again remonstrated and with success. On the first of July the Convention revoked their last order, and again liberated the commerce of the United States, from the operation of the original decree of May 9th; and this revocation was declared to be made, in conformity with the provisions of the treaty of 1778. M. Desforgues, who had succeeded le Brun, as minister for foreign affairs, in communicating this revocation to Mr Morris, observes, 'I am very happy in being able to give you this new proof of the paternal sentiments of the French people for their allies, and of their determination to maintain, to the utmost of their power, the treaties subsisting between the two republics.' In twentyseven days this last decree was repealed. We would here

* See the decree at large, in Wait's State Papers, III, 42.

notice an oversight of the Committee, who made the report of April, 1802. They state, that 'the decree of May 9th, after having been several times repealed and reenacted, was finally repealed on the 27th of July following.' Far otherwise. The decree of May 9th, after having been twice revoked, was finally restored, in its application to American vessels, July 27th, in permanent violation of the twentythird article of the treaty of 1778. The only relaxation made, was the exemption from capture of American vessels, bound with provisions to an enemy's ports.

In the course of the years 1793 and 1794, a new source of injury arose, in a long and distressing embargo at Bordeaux. A list of one hundred and three American vessels detained under this embargo, to the incalculable detriment of the property embarked in them, was drawn up by Mr Skipwith, on the 20th of November, 1795. As the claims for indemnity, for losses sustained by this embargo, formed a portion of those provided for by the Louisiana Convention, no further account of them would be here in place.

The number of American vessels seized and sent into France, under the decree of May 9th, 1793, or detained by the embargo, or in other ways, was so great, that Mr Monroe, who succeeded Mr Morris, was led to constitute Mr Skipwith a general agent, for collecting and presenting them to himself and the French government. In the performance of this duty, an amount of injury and outrage inflicted by France, on our commercial interests, was disclosed, which can now scarcely be credited. Mr Skipwith drew up a report, bearing date October, 1794, and addressed to Mr Monroe. After observing, that he has not as yet received from the consuls all the documents, necessary for presenting a full view of these injuries and outrages, he adds, 'from the communication, however, already received from the different ports, and from the information I have collected from the captains present, I can assure you there are near three hundred sail of American vessels, now in the ports of France, all of whom have suffered, or are suffering, more or less delay and difficulties, of which the examples annexed will afford you a general view.'

Mr Skipwith then proceeds to enumerate and classify the modes and forms of the oppressive treatment, imposed upon the Americans, and names first,

'The capture *indiscriminately* of our vessels at sea, by the vessels of war of the republic.'

A copy of this report, accompanied with documents illustrative of its statements, was laid before the French government, and produced a joint decree of the committees of public safety, finance, commerce, and supplies, dated November 15th, 1794. This decree* revived and declared in force that of July 27th, 1793, above mentioned; it declared, that the principle of 'free ships free goods' should not be recognised in favor of the goods of any enemy, by whom it was not also recognised. It provided for the compensation of losses sustained by neutral vessels, in consequence of the embargo at Bordeaux, and for the payment of supplies furnished by Americans to St Domingo. The satisfaction yielded under these two last heads was partial, inadequate, and attended with great delay, while the provisions of the decree perpetuated some of the most serious violations of the treaty of 1778. This being the subject of continued and persevering complaints, made on behalf of our merchants, on the 4th of January, 1795, the committee of public safety repealed those parts of the decree of November preceding, which violated the treaty of alliance. The leaders in France, at this time, appear to have felt a wish to conciliate America, and such were the advices from our minister there, that General Washington, in his message to Congress, February 28th, 1795,† makes the following statement. 'Our minister near the French republic has urged compensation for the injuries, which our commerce has sustained from captures by French cruisers, from the nonfulfilment of the contracts of the agents of that republic with our citizens, and for the embargo at Bordeaux. He has also pressed an allowance for the money voted by Congress, for relieving the inhabitants of St Domingo. It affords me the highest pleasure to inform Congress, that perfect harmony reigns between the two republics; *and that those claims are in a train of being discussed with candor, and of being amicably adjusted.*'

In fact, as we have observed, the republic, at this time, seems to have been disposed to act with justice. Mr Skip-

* It may be found in State Papers, III, 53.

† Wait's State Papers, X, 402.

with was incessantly employed in prosecuting the various classes of claims, and large sums of money were actually paid, partly in specie, and partly in *assignats*, to our ship-masters and merchants.* Had the sums of money, thus appropriated, been promptly applied to a liquidation of each case of injury as it accrued, it is not impossible that they might have covered no small portion of what was due. The cruel delays, the subsequent destruction of perishable cargoes, the rotting of vessels at the wharves, the rapid depreciation of paper, produced the unfortunate result of a large provision made by the French, with very little benefit to the claimants.

The friendly disposition of the French government invariably fluctuated, with their political prospects. The success of Bonaparte in Italy, raised the crest of the conquering republic, and in the course of the year 1796, the old causes of complaint were revived, and new ones added. On the 2d of July, 1796, the favorable decree of January, 1795, was repealed by a new decree of the following purport, 'that all neutral or allied powers shall without delay be notified, that the flag of the French republic will treat neutral vessels, either as to confiscation, as to searches, or captures, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them.' Under color of this decree, the most wide spread devastation was let loose upon our commerce.

The subordinate agents of the Directory were forward to emulate the example of the government at home. On the 1st of August, 1796, Victor Hugues and Lebas, special agents of the Directory to the Windward Islands, made a decree, that all vessels loaded with contraband articles, were liable to seizure and condemnation, without making any discrimination in favor of those which might be bound to neutral, and even to French ports. The manner in which this and other similar decrees were enforced, was, if possible, more oppressive, than the decrees themselves. All legal forms were disregarded, and the mode of proceeding was reduced to the exercise of brute force. One example may suffice. The Patty sailed from New London on the 31st July, 1795, (of course before the decree last mentioned was made in the

* The document marked D, State Papers, III, 56, will sufficiently illustrate this remark.

West Indies, to say nothing of being known in America,) bound to St Barts. On the 2d of September, the vessel was captured by a French cruiser, and carried into Guadaloupe. The captain was taken before Victor Hugues, whose first words, accompanied by his fist thrust into the captain's face, were, 'I have confiscated your vessel and cargo, you —— rascal.' Three days after, the captain inquired of Victor Hugues when his vessel and cargo would be tried; and the answer was, they had already been tried, and the captain might go about his business. The captain afterwards received a certificate of his trial and condemnation; but in many cases even this poor favor was insultingly refused; and our unfortunate ship masters, ignorant of the language, without friends, beset by the harpies of office, stripped even to their clothes, and often personally assaulted, were left to beg their way to some neutral island, before they could even make their protest.

These crying insults seemed to grow into a sort of pastime, with the petty tyrants of the day. On the 27th of November, the same year, another decree was passed by a new set of commissioners to the Windward Islands, which ought to be quoted entire.

'The Commission resolves, that the captains of French national vessels and privateers, are authorised to stop and bring into the ports of the colony, American vessels bound to English ports, or coming from the said ports.'

'The vessels, which are already taken, or shall be hereafter, shall remain in the ports of the colony, till it shall be otherwise ordered.

'At the Cape, the 7th Frimaire, in the fifth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.'

'Signed on the record of the procès verbal; Leblane, president; Santhonax, Raimond, commissioners; Pascal, secretary general.'*

This most extraordinary violence was not confined to the petty tribunal, from which the decree in question was issued. Captures were made by the French privateers, in Europe, on the ground that all American vessels coming from, or bound to England, were good prize, and the French consul at Cadiz avowed his determination to condemn them, appealing to the decree of the Directory of July 2d, 1796, for his warrant.

* State Papers, III, 55.

On the 5th of February, 1797, another decree of Hugues and Lebas authorised the capture of all neutral vessels, destined to any of the Windward or Leeward Islands, in America, which had been delivered up to the English, and occupied or defended by emigrants, viz; Martinique, St Lucie, Tobago, Demarara, Berbice, and Essequibo, for the windward isles; and Port au Prince, St Marc, L'Archaye, and Jeremie, for the leeward. All vessels sailing to and from any of the islands, are, with their cargoes, declared good prize by this decree, as well as all vessels, 'which shall have cleared out under the *vague* denomination of the *West Indies*.'*

On the 2d of March, 1797, the Directory issued a decree, prefaced by a laborious preamble, in which almost all the previous oppressive regulations were reenacted, and new and exceedingly injurious ones added, especially that notorious one relative to the *Role d' Equipage*, which swept so much of the remnant of our commerce from the seas. This decree formally declared, that the treaty of 1778 should be modified, in conformity with the provisions of Jay's treaty with England; in other words, that, in some of its most characteristic features, it should be annulled.

The manner in which this, as well as all the other decrees, was enforced, added much to its severity. It was not merely applied from the date of its publication, but a retrospective action was given to it, against American ships, which had previously, on any other pretence, or no pretence, been sent into France. The number of vessels captured, under this last decree, was very great. Between August, 1796, and June, 1797, according to a list prepared for the Philadelphia Gazette, and probably not containing all the cases, three hundred and eight American vessels suffered under the illegal decrees of the French; the greater part of them after that of March 2d was issued. Not content with the comprehensive terms of the decrees, the French officers and agents subjected the captains and seamen to personal violence, in order to extort from them, by extreme pain, testimony that would condemn their vessels. Mr Rufus King, then, as now, our minister to London, in a letter bearing date April 19th, 1797, mentions the case of Captain Martin, of the Cincinnatus of

* See the Decree; State Papers, III, 32.

Baltimore, who was taken on board the French cruiser that had captured his ship, 'and tortured for more than three hours,' to induce him to make such declarations, concerning his ship and cargo, as would procure their condemnation. 'Captain Martin's thumbs,' adds Mr King, 'which I examined, bear the marks of the screws, and the scars will go with him to his grave.'

In the decrees, of which we have now enumerated the chief, and in captures, seizures, and spoliations, committed by the French cruisers on American vessels indiscriminately, without the authority even of these decrees, such as it was, originate the claims we are now considering. They formed, of course, a standing subject of reclamation and of complaint, on the part of our successive Ministers to France, Mr Morris, and Mr Monroe; and they were to have been pressed by General Pinckney, had he been received by that government as Mr Monroe's successor. On the failure of his separate embassy, a commission of three envoys, Messrs Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, was sent to France; but, as is well known, this commission was not received by the Directory. The subject of the claims of our citizens on France, of every description, was particularly treated in their instructions; and after an enumeration of these claims, in their general nature and quality, it is observed in the instructions as follows; 'Although the reparation for losses sustained by citizens of the United States, in consequence of irregular or illegal captures or condemnations, or forcible seizures or detentions, is of very high importance, and is to be pressed with the greatest earnestness, yet it is not to be insisted upon as an indispensable condition of the proposed treaty. You are not, however, to renounce these claims of our citizens, *nor to stipulate that they be assumed by the United States, as a loan to the French Government.*' This last clause referred to a proposal, already made by France to our government, and repeated in one of the unofficial communications of the emissaries of Talleyrand with our envoys, that the United States should assume this debt as a loan to France.*

During their residence in France, though not received by the Directory in an official character, our envoys addressed

* State Papers, IV. 12.

a most able memorial to the French minister, in which they divide the American claims into two classes. The first consists of such, as are uncontroverted by the French Government, and are substantially those provided for by the Louisiana Convention. After enumerating the varieties of claims in this class, our envoys add, that 'they pass to complaints still more important for their amount, more interesting for their nature, and more serious in their consequences,' viz. the spoliations under the various decrees of the French Government, issued in violation of the treaty of 1778, and of the law of nations. It is worthy of particular notice that, under the head of claims uncontroverted by France, are those for captures under the decree of May 9, 1793.

In a conversation between Talleyrand and our envoys, detailed in the journal of the latter,* the French minister endeavored to induce our envoys to assume the claims of our citizens, as a loan to France, remarking that they 'had claims on the French Government for property taken from American citizens. *Some of those claims are probably just.*' In the negotiation of Talleyrand with Mr Gerry, after the departure of the other ministers, a negotiation which may be called official, the French minister thus expressed himself. With respect to 'the claims of American citizens on the French republic, if the latter should not be able to pay them when adjusted, and the United States would assume and pay them, France would reimburse the amount thereof;'† and, in this proposal, Mr Gerry expresses the opinion, that Talleyrand was sincere.

The manner in which the embassy of the three envoys terminated, and the appointment of another, the following year, are too familiar to be dwelt upon. The instructions to the second commission, consisting of Messrs Murray, Ellsworth, and Davie, have not been made public. They form a part of the papers, whose communication was asked by the Senate and House, at the close of the first Session of the eighteenth Congress, and then delayed on account of their voluminousness. As the state of things, with respect to the claims, was not at all changed, since the instructions of Messrs Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry were drawn up, it is highly probable

* State Papers, IV. 89. † State Papers, IV. 160.

that the same instructions were given to Messrs Murray, Davie, and Ellsworth; that they were directed to press the claim as of high importance, by no means to renounce it, but not to make it a *sine qua non* condition of the treaty to be negotiated.

The new American Commission found a new government in France. The result of the negotiations of our envoys was the Convention of 1800. The second article of that Convention is in the following terms; 'The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the two parties, not being able to agree, *at present*, respecting the treaty of alliance of 1778, and the treaty of amity and commerce, of the same date, and the Convention of November, 1788, nor upon the indemnities mutually due or claimed; the parties will negotiate further on these subjects, at a convenient time, and until they may have agreed upon these points, the said treaties and Convention shall have no operation.'

The fifth article provides for a liquidation of debts between the two countries, as if no misunderstanding had happened; but this provision was not to extend to indemnities claimed for captures and confiscations.

The Convention was sent to the United States, and ratified in the Senate, with the exception of the second article, which provided for further negotiation on the indemnities mutually claimed or due.

In this form the Convention was returned to France, and Mr Murray was immediately interrogated by the French Government, as to the motives of the American senate in expunging the second article. As Mr Murray's correspondence has not been officially communicated, his statements to the French Government, on this subject, are not certainly known. He is understood, however, to have accounted for the expunging of the second article, from the wish of the Senate to preclude any future standing subject of contention between the two governments, such as a reserved negotiation of this kind would be. The French Government are supposed to have stated, that a simple omission of the article, unaccompanied by a mutual renunciation, would operate to their prejudice. The claims of France on America rested on the provisions of the treaty of 1778, and the Consular Convention of 1788. These treaties ceasing to exist, France

would lose all claim on America; whereas the American claims having a basis, not only in the treaty, but in the law of nations, would still lie against France. To avoid this disadvantageous result, the French Government is understood to have proposed this alternative; either to omit the second article, accompanying the omission with a mutual renunciation, or to abandon the Convention entirely, and to leave the treaty of 1778 in force. Our minister accepted the former part of the alternative, and the treaty was ratified by Bonaparte, as First Consul, omitting the second article, with a note attached, declaring that this omission was considered by the parties, as a mutual renunciation of their claims. The Convention came back to the United States with this conditional ratification, and on the 19th of December, 1801, the Senate resolved, 'that they considered the same Convention as fully ratified.'

With respect to the claims of France on America, which are brought forward as an offset to the claims of America on France, a full idea of them cannot be obtained, without perusing, in the State Papers, the correspondence between the several Ministers of the French Republic in America, with our government here; the Reports made by the American Secretary of State upon this point; the correspondence of the American Secretary with General Pinckney, and the memoir addressed by Messrs Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry to Talleyrand. The two gravest matters in controversy, however, can be specified in a word, the guaranty of the French possessions in the West Indies, and of aid to be rendered France by America in defensive wars; stipulated by the treaty of 1778, and the privileges claimed by France for her consuls, under the Consular Convention of 1788. By the guaranty, America was unquestionably bound to France, to an extent indefinite and uncertain, but calculated to be very onerous. The extent of this obligation may be partly estimated, from that clause in the instructions of our government to Messrs Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, which authorised them to propose to the French Government, in time of war, an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand dollars, in lieu of a specific fulfilment of the guaranty. Considering this as the voluntary offer of our government, and also bearing in mind the odious nature of a subsidy in the estimation

of a people like the American, it is easy to infer that this treaty of 1778, was regarded as a very heavy burden by our statesmen. The editor of the edition of the Laws of the United States, whose exact acquaintance with our political history is apparent throughout the work, in a note subjoined to the Convention of 1803, after sketching the history of our relations with France, adds, 'by that Convention, (of 1801,) among other things, the United States were exonerated from the weighty responsibility imposed, by the treaty of alliance of 1778, of a guarantee of the French possessions in America.'

Such, therefore, was the mutual renunciation, on the part of the United States and France. The latter renounced her claim upon the United States, for the fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty of alliance, and for indemnity for injuries alleged to be sustained by France, from the failure of the United States of America to fulfil those stipulations, and also from the alleged inexecution of the Consular Convention of 1788. The United States renounced the claims of her citizens, for spoliations and injuries, under various decrees of the French Government, issued in violation of the treaty of 1778, and of the law of nations.

We shall now pursue briefly the history of the manner in which the citizens of the United States, whose claims were renounced by their own government, in consideration of a great national and political object, have sought relief and indemnity.

The year after this Convention was ratified, viz. in 1802, sundry citizens and claimants, whose rights were affected by it, applied to Congress for relief. Their memorials were referred to a committee, who made an elaborate report, consisting chiefly of an enumeration of the violent and illegal decrees of the French; of the measures adopted by our government to procure or enforce redress; and of the negotiation of the Convention of 1800. After going through this historical detail, the report of the committee closes with the following paragraph,—

'It appears, that the exclusion of the second article of the Convention was considered as a renunciation of the indemnities, claimed by the citizens of the United States of America, for spoliations and depredations upon their commerce, so far as the government might

otherwise have been instrumental in obtaining such indemnities. Upon the whole view of the case, the committee submit it to the House to determine, whether the government of the United States be, in any respect, bound to indemnify the memorialists; and whether there be any ground for discrimination between the cases of losses sustained before the Acts of 28th of May, 1798, the 7th of July, 1798, and the 9th of July, 1798, and cases of losses sustained after those periods.'

The acts of Congress here alluded to, are those authorising the capture of French vessels of war hovering on our coasts, and repealing the treaty of alliance of 1778. Their bearing on this question will presently be the subject of a few remarks.

It will be perceived, from the paragraph we have cited from the report of the committee, and which is the only portion of the report from which the judgment of the committee could be inferred, that the fact of the renunciation of these claims, by our government, is admitted. The committee add the qualification, 'so far as the government might have been instrumental in obtaining such indemnities.' But there is nothing, that we can perceive, in the facts of the case, to authorise this qualification. The renunciation is unlimited and unconditional. Our government renounced not only its own right to prosecute the claims, but the right of the citizens to prosecute them, on their own account. This report of the committee came before the House, was several times discussed, but never acted upon finally. Efforts were made to procure a resolution, providing for the indemnification of the claimants, and it is understood that the divisions of the House, on this question, were in a considerable degree in accordance with the grand political division of the parties. This was the unavoidable result of the state of political controversy in the nation. The late administration had gone out of power, under the stigma of attachment to England, and hostility to France. The claimants, in their declaration, were obliged to set forth and urge the aggressions of France, and this course of proceeding connected itself too directly with the general questions between the parties, not to produce a strong prejudice against the claim.

In the year 1807, the question was again brought forward by memorials from sundry claimants. These memorials

were referred to a committee of the House, whose brief report was decidedly in favor of the claimants. After referring to the report of the committee of 1802, the committee in 1807 proceed;

'From a mature consideration of the subject, and from the best judgment your committee have been able to form on the case, they are of opinion, that this government, by expunging the second article of our Convention with France, of the 30th of September, 1800, became bound to indemnify the memorialists for those just claims, which they otherwise would rightfully have had on the government of France, for the spoliations committed on their commerce, by the illegal captures made by the cruisers and other armed vessels of that power, in violation of the laws of nations, and breach of treaties then existing between the nations, which claims they were, by the rejection of the said article of the Convention, forever barred from preferring to the government of France for compensation.'

'Your committee beg leave to decline giving an opinion on the precise time, when those claims ought to be commenced, or on the period for captures, after which the memorialists would not have been entitled to compensation from France, and of course cannot be entitled to indemnity from the United States.'

No relief to the claimants resulted from this report. The subject was revived in 1818, and as the act, by which the claimants were deprived of whatever remedy they could have had of the French government, was performed with the concurrence of the Senate, in the exercise of the treaty making power, memorials from Portsmouth, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, were addressed to the Senate of the United States, and by them referred to the committee of claims, by whom an unfavorable report was made.

In 1822 an application was made by a few merchants of Baltimore, who addressed their memorial to the House of Representatives, in which body it was referred to the committee of foreign affairs. They reported against the claim, partly on general grounds, and partly on circumstances peculiar to the application in question.

Here it is possible all prosecution of the claims would have ceased, but for two considerations, calculated to stimulate the hopes, and to heighten the sense of wrong of the claimants. One of these considerations respected the *denouement* of the great tragedy of the French Revolution. It had always been

objected to these claims, that in renouncing them, the government of the United States renounced nothing of value. That the claim was worth nothing, because France would not have paid it; because, after a long and earnest negotiation, all that our commissioners could procure was a consent, on the part of the French, to negotiate further. While Bonaparte or his dynasty subsisted, this language was plausible, and every year rendered it more plausible. But an astonishing revolution had occurred; his throne was prostrated; and the ancient dynasty was restored, by the combined powers of Europe, under a pledge compulsory, if not voluntary, to pay the debts of France. Under this circumstance, claims of old and forgotten obligation revived, as from the dead. The losses of English travellers, in the most lawless periods of the Revolution, the losses sustained by payments in *assignats*, the nameless and numberless encroachments on property, which signalised that stormy and perplexed crisis in Europe, were all now sternly forced into the account to be liquidated. They had been liquidated and paid. Our citizens alone could not come, and thrust the sickle into this waving yellow harvest of indemnity; their claim had been renounced by their own government. Farther, the government of the United States very properly seized this moment to bring forward the claims for losses, under the continental system of Napoleon. These claims were, and still are, pressed upon France. They must, they will be liquidated. But the claimants under the old system of plunder and spoliation cannot come in; their government has renounced their claim.

To strengthen the feelings which this contrast excited, the Florida treaty had just been negotiated. The claimants for French spoliations had already seen themselves shut out from the provisions of the Louisiana treaty. They had seen a class of claims, certainly not so binding on the national honor to assert, provided for out of the purchase money of that western world. This postponement of their rights was now repeated upon them. By the Florida treaty, an indemnity was provided for claims, many of them as old as theirs, and few more pressing, and which had as long been prosecuted without hope, and against hope.

These facts produced no little sensation throughout the country, among those interested; and about fifty memorials,

in the Session of 1823, 4, were presented to the Senate of the United States. A step was thereupon taken by this body, which is certainly preliminary to a fair discussion of the subject in Congress, in all its bearings. A call was unanimously made on the President, for all the official papers bearing upon the case. Pending the result of this call, a few memorials were prematurely presented to the House of Representatives, and by them referred to the committee of foreign relations. Considering the train in which things were placed, this was an unfortunate occurrence for the claimants, and doubtless had its origin only in inadvertence. An unfavorable report was made by the committee of foreign relations; but the decision upon it gave way to a resolution for a call, similar to that which had already been made by the Senate.

The lateness of the period at which these calls were made, and the great quantity of papers embraced in it, led to a report of the then Secretary of State, in the month of May, 1824, that the communication of the papers asked for, must be delayed till the following Session. The following Session, that of the presidential canvas, passed off without a renewal of the call; and it remains for the succeeding Congress to pursue the subject, as they shall think expedient. It is not impossible, that such new lights will be thrown upon the subject, by the communication of the papers alluded to, before these remarks are published, as to destroy the little interest they might otherwise possess. Inasmuch, however, as a great mass of documents may possibly come before Congress, we have thought that an analysis of the claim, such as we have now given, would, in any event, not be without its value. We now proceed to examine a few of the arguments, by which these claims have been resisted, by three out of five of the committees to which they have been referred.

The first, and perhaps the most formidable, is, that the United States, after negotiating with France, among other things, on indemnity for these claims, as long as negotiation was of any avail, but entirely without success, resorted to war as the remedy. When such a proposition is advanced, the acts of Congress of 1798 are considered as creating a state of war, and the captures made by our armed ships as acts of war. This, however, can only be admitted in popular language. Strictly speaking, a state of war did not exist.

No declaration of war, the only instrument by which a state of war can be formally constituted, was made, either by the United States or France. No authority to make reprisals was given to our citizens, a mode by which a state of war is sometimes indirectly brought on. This is a circumstance of great moment in this argument, because it was by reprisals, that the suffering merchants might have had the opportunity of indemnifying themselves. No captures of merchant vessels were made by our armed ships, and none were authorised to be made. What then was done? Authority was given to capture the *armed* vessels of France, that might be hovering on our coast, that had committed, or were likely to commit, violations on our commerce; and to recapture our vessels, which had been seized by the French. On the part of the French, not even these measures were retaliated. They had probably never intended to drive us to war; and at this moment the Directory felt weak. They embargoed our ships, but issued no orders for acts of hostility, either on our armed or unarmed vessels. After a few months they went further, and ordered such intimations to be given to Mr Murray, our minister in Holland, as led to the despatch of the second commission, Messrs Murray, Ellsworth, and Davie, by whom a convention, not a treaty, was negotiated.

The mode, in which the affair was prosecuted, shows that peace was considered as not interrupted; the treaty of alliance of 1778 was recognised as still in existence; the French national vessels captured were restored, and those which we had destroyed, or otherwise disposed of, were paid for. It is true the treaty of 1778 had been formally repealed, or declared not to exist, by an act of Congress. But most of the claims of our merchants rest not on infractions of that treaty, but of the law of nations. The act of Congress could effect nothing against claims already existing, and this is by far the greater part of those in question. Besides, it may well be a question, how far Congress can, by a direct act of legislative power, annul a treaty so as to affect obligations arising under it. At all events, the negotiations recognised no such effect in this act of Congress; they regarded the treaties, both of 1778 and 1788, as in existence, till abrogated by the convention of 1801. In fact, the whole negotiation of the convention

proceeds on the ground, that though misunderstandings had arisen, a state of peace had never ceased to exist.

The other chief argument against the claim is, that, though the government renounced it, they renounced it only to the extent in which indemnity could have been obtained from France; and as any indemnity was hopeless, at the time the treaty was made, our government did no injury to our citizens by this renunciation. This argument appears to us abundantly objectionable, both in principle and in fact.

It is objectionable in its principle, which is, that the government has a right to take the property of the citizen, simply because it takes but a small amount. The value of these claims, at that moment, might have been small; but they were still the property of the citizen. The indemnity due was a *chose in action*, of which the assignable value might be differently estimated by different persons, and rated high by none; still, however, the claimants had a right to it themselves; and if the government, for political objects, chose to divest them of this right, it is bound to make them a recompense.

To this it may be rejoined,—granted, but this recompense must be measured by the value of the thing sacrificed; that value was null; therefore the recompense must be nominal. This course of argument, however, is still more objectionable than the preceding. The value of a claim on the government of a civilised country, a permanent debtor, not exposed to the fluctuations of private fortunes, a debtor which, if unprosperous this generation, may prosper the next, and if now administered by an unjust military power, may soon be administered by rulers professing to be actuated by justice; the value of a claim on such a government is not to be estimated at its zero, because at some particular moment it happens to be worth nothing. The claim in question must be estimated according to the probability that France, in the long run, will pay its just debts. If the government of our country, therefore, sacrifices the claims of its citizens, without any compromise with them as to their indemnity, it assumes, in honor and justice, the whole debt.

This is peculiarly true, when it is considered that the value of the claim depends almost wholly on the government itself. If the government shows a disposition to abandon it, and to

tolerate its nonpayment by the foreign government, the value of the claim will, by this policy, sink to nothing. But will it be honorable, when this is done, for the government, after renouncing this claim, to withhold all indemnity from our citizens, and say, it is true we sacrificed your claims, but they were worth nothing to you, and we owe you no recompense? Might not the claimants justly reply; it is true, at that moment our claim was worth little, but it was you who sunk its value. Had you thought proper to engraft it on the everduring youth of the republic; had you told the French First Consul, that you would never renounce it, the rather as it was incurred under circumstances intimately affecting the American honor; that though you could not now enforce it against his colossal power, you would lay it up in your archives, to be reproduced when the arm of America should grow strong enough, to be lifted up with effect against the injustice of Europe, and still better, till France, the metropolitan region of civilisation, should again be governed by the principles of national justice; had you held this language, our claim would not have been worthless. But to sink the value of our property, and then tell us it is nothing worth; what is it but to act over on a large national scale, that detestable villany of our bankrupt monied corporations, who buy up at a discount their own worthless rags?

But we deny that the argument in question is sound in fact. We deny that the claim was worthless. Had it not been renounced, it would have stood on the same footing as the claims of our citizens against France, for losses sustained under the continental system of Napoleon, and the decrees enforcing it. Are they worthless? Is that claim good for nothing, which our government, by the instrumentality of Mr Gallatin, and other able negotiators, has declared to be founded in justice, and one which it is incumbent on France to pay? Is the property of our citizens, after the government of the country has formally taken the protection of it into its own hands, not worth anything? For ourselves, we should be sorry to say, that even in the hands of individual citizens, a claim on the justice of a government, like that of France, is worth nothing. But when our government has taken it up, and has instructed its ministers to assert its justice, then to say that it is worth nothing, is to say that our govern-

ment either cannot, or will not, procure its citizens justice. For ourselves, we believe that it both can and will, and we have no doubt the course it is pursuing will ultimately succeed. The French ministry have professed a willingness to examine the claim, and to settle an account with this country. They have indeed endeavored to clog the subject, by connecting it with absurd pretensions to privileges at New Orleans. But they have not shut their ears totally against it; it must, it will be recovered. But for the renunciation by the Convention of 1801, the claims in question would have formed a part of the general claim against France; for no one will say, that the present government of the country is not bound as much to make compensation for one, as for the other. The claim is against France; and France is as much accountable for the acts of her rulers from 1793 to 1800, as from 1805 to 1814.

Again, the claim was valuable, considered as a part of one large claim, a portion of which was actually, in two years, provided for. Up to 1800, no discrimination had been drawn between the different grounds, on which our citizens laid claim to indemnity. The merchant, whose property had been seized under an illegal decree of the National Convention, of the Directory, or of the special agents for the Windward Isles, was considered to have as good a claim on France, and to the aid of his own government in enforcing it, as the citizen whose vessel had been embargoed at Bordeaux, or who had made a contract with the French government for supplies, for which payment was withheld. The only difference in the cases was one strongly in favor of the former claim. The American citizen, who voluntarily makes a contract with a foreign government, has no claim on his own to go to war to protect him. But the citizen, who, lawfully pursuing his commerce on the high seas, is, in violation of the faith of treaties, and of the law of nations, arrested by the cruisers of a foreign power, acting under decrees as offensive to our national honor, as they are oppressive to private rights, is entitled to the national protection; his claim is strongest, by all the obligation which the government of the country has, to vindicate its honor and the inviolability of its flag. Accordingly, Messrs Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, after recapitulating the claims of a private nature, pass to those for

spoliations, as of far greater importance. And yet by the Convention of 1800, the claims for spoliations were renounced, and the private claims reserved; and, by the Louisiana Convention, provision was made for the payment of the latter. Now, could not the claimants for spoliations reasonably insist, that while the private claims were so valuable, the public ones, those for whose payment the honor of our government was concerned as much as that of France, should never be abandoned, nor sacrificed without an equivalent? Was it not reasonable, that if France had been brought to pay one part, she would sooner or later pay the other? And do we ascribe a becoming language to our government, when we represent it as saying to the claimants for spoliations, 'We have insisted, that the private debts of the French Government to our citizens shall be paid, but for the losses sustained under decrees affecting our national rights and sovereignty, we can and will do nothing for you.'

Again, let us consider the case of the Spanish claims. Who, in 1800, would have thought of preferring the Spanish claim to the French? Supposing their foundation in justice to be equally good, which no one will controvert, who would not have sooner expected justice from France than Spain; or rather, considering the relations of the two countries with each other, who would have expected any better result than that, whenever France should pay us, Spain would imitate the example? But yet, in the course of events, the Spanish claim has proved good; our government kept a protecting hand upon it, and in the end has succeeded in negotiating a treaty, by which it secured not only an ample indemnity to the claimants, but a great national object, second only in importance to the acquisition of Louisiana. With what reason then can it be urged, that a claim on France was worthless, when one on Spain has been liquidated almost at par?

It will be replied, perhaps, that the claim on Spain was always good, because there were vast Spanish possessions on our southern and south-western boundary; all Florida and Louisiana; out of which we might, in the last resort, take our indemnity, if we could get it in no other way; while France had no possession on which we could lay our hand. This, however, is arguing only from the position of things at the moment, without taking into view the astonishing mutabi-

lity of human affairs. It needs not be said, that to the eye of the statesman, no important political step would ever be contemplated, on the assumption that France had no territory in our vicinity. The monuments of French power and enterprise which encircle us, as with a belt, from Nova Scotia to New Orleans, would present themselves to his mind, and warn him that what had been might again be; while the shifting spectacle of every part of the world would confirm the truth, that nothing is more familiar in the political system, than a change of sovereignty in colonial possessions. How, in fact, can a suggestion now be plausibly made, that this claim was worthless, because France had no adjacent territories, which we could appropriate to ourselves, when it is considered that the very day after the Convention of 1800 was signed, France actually became possessed of territory on the American continent, more than equal to the whole of the United States, and that she was ready to cede this territory, and did cede it, on favorable conditions to us? No one can believe, that if the claim for spoliations had not been renounced, it would not, as well as the claim for private debts on France, have been compromised at the time of the Louisiana purchase. And it is equally apparent, that this immense, and, to the United States, all important territory, would have been abundantly valuable enough to furnish the means of the compromise.

Farther, that it can with no justice be said the claim was worthless, may be argued from the estimation in which it was held by our government, and by the French Government. Our government instructed its ministers not to renounce it; and these ministers estimated it at fifteen millions. The French offset this claim against all their claims on this country. It is necessary only to cast an eye over the correspondence of the French ministers to this country, to see that they regarded their claims as very important, and yet they offset them against the claim of our citizens for spoliations. We have already said, that our ministers were instructed to propose to France a subsidy of two hundred thousand dollars, in acquittal of one part of the obligations, which the treaty of alliance of 1778 imposed upon us. It is a fact, that may assist us to estimate the value of the claim, that the two governments agreed to offset it against all the French claims

on us, one single article of which, viz. the fulfilment of a part of the stipulations of the treaty of alliance, was estimated by our government, as worth a subsidy of two hundred thousand dollars per annum. This being the estimate of the paying party, it may well be supposed that France, the receiving party, would have estimated it much higher.

The truth is, if it be allowed that the claims mutually offsetting each other were of equal value, the claim of our citizens, so far from being worthless, was of immense importance. It would have been impossible to negotiate a Convention with France, on the basis of the old treaty. So much was the state of the world changed since 1778, that the old treaty could not have been enforced strictly, without dragging us into a war with England; nor could that treaty have been left in the situation in which it was placed by the acts of Congress of 1798, without bringing on a real war with Napoleon. A war with Napoleon, at that time, would have been, in human probability, most injurious to this country. It would have yoked us in a disastrous alliance with England, would have prevented our acquisition of Louisiana, and probably thrown it into the possession of the British. Now, there seems no possible way in which the claims of the French, to the permanent enjoyment of the advantages of the treaty of 1778, could have been compromised, but by this pecuniary arrangement. The French agreed to accept a renunciation of a claim on them, estimated at fifteen millions. Our government, wisely as we think, chose to purchase at this rate a fair and honorable settlement of our difficulties with France, with which country, in consequence of the antigallican spirit of a part of our own rulers, and the violence and injustice of those of France, our relations had become in the highest degree embarassed. How then can it be said, that the claim, whose renunciation was the basis of so happy a compromise, was of no value? It was of all the value, that peace with France was to the country.

It may be intimated, that our government would not have renounced it, had it been a valuable claim; to which we reply, that, however valuable, they would be still authorised to renounce it for an equivalent; which we have just shown they obtained. Moreover, we all know, not only that the government of our country esteemed the claim valuable, but

the value they placed upon it is known from the instructions to our envoys. It is true, it may justly be argued, that, if the claims were valuable, the government would not have renounced it, without designing to make compensation to the claimants. We may add, they could not constitutionally renounce it, without such intention; for in one of the amendments to the Constitution, which form the conditions, on which a large portion of the people of these United States accepted that instrument, it is provided, that 'private property shall not be taken for public use, without compensation.'

It is our firm belief, that the government of our country intended to make compensation. Motions to that effect were very early brought into Congress; they were supported by as large a number of its members, as could have been expected before the question had been agitated, and the claims urged. Meantime the Louisiana treaty came on, and there is much reason to think, that it was the intention of Mr Jefferson, to make the acquisition of that region the means of indemnifying our citizens, whose property had been renounced. No provision to this effect could have been introduced into the Louisiana Convention, because, as between France and us, the claim had ceased to exist. But Chancellor Livingston, who negotiated the purchase of Louisiana, expressly writes to our commissioners under it, Messrs Mc Clure, Mercer, and Barnet, that such part of the private claims on France, as the twenty millions of francs appropriated should fail to cover, must be paid by the United States. In like manner, we have no doubt, our government expected, that recompense should be made by the nation to those claimants for spoliations, whose just demands on the French Government had been renounced for the public service.

The low price at which Louisiana was bought, would have well enabled our government to raise a fund out of it for such a purpose. The purchase money was but seven and a half cents an acre, estimating the quantity of land acquired at two hundred million acres,* which is a low estimate, and the price of the land at fifteen millions of dollars.

* Seybert's Statistics.

The whole of Louisiana cost but three times as much, as was paid to quiet the various Mississippi Land Company claimants, or to purchase Florida. And what, in one word, may show the smallness of the sum of money that was paid for it, we need only add, that the poor negroes of St Domingo, to quiet the claims of the ancient proprietors, have paid thirty millions of dollars for the French part of that island, twice as much as the purchase money of Louisiana. It is, however, wrong to attempt, by a comparison of dollars and cents, to estimate the value of Louisiana to the Union; its acquisition is among the most important incidents in the history of the world; the silent peaceful extension, to half a continent, of the blessings of republican liberty. Nor does it admit a doubt, that our government, in making this purchase so low, designed that it should form a fund for the indemnification of those of its citizens, whose claims on France had in the general settlement been renounced.

It would not be difficult to point out, in the history of our politics, both foreign and domestic, the causes which have hitherto prevented this, or any other effectual measures for the relief of the claimants, but we regard this as a superfluous task. We also pass over many minor considerations, that have been or may be urged against any measures for granting this relief, such as the length of time that has elapsed, the large amount of the claim, the doubtful justice of parts of it. If we have succeeded in showing that it is in the main founded in justice; that the claimants could rightfully have demanded payment of France, and that our government renounced this claim for them, we have established our point. If we have made it farther apparent, that at the time of renunciation it was understood to be a claim of great value, and was an offset against important claims of France on America; if we have shown that its recovery from France was not so desperate, as to make its estimated value null; if we have made it clear, that but for this renunciation, the claim would now have stood on the footing of those, which the government is actively prosecuting, and will certainly enforce, we have established, as we conceive, a fair right on the part of the claimants to indemnity from their own government. Meantime we have no distrust of the national councils. It is likely, that when the papers, which have been promised

from the Department of State, shall be communicated, the subject will be fairly and adequately discussed, and that some compromise, satisfactory to the claimants, and not onerous to the country, will take place.

ART. VIII.—*Ensayo sobre la Necesidad de una Federacion Jeneral entre los Estados Hispano-Americanos, y Plan de su Organizacion. Obra Póstuma del* H. CORONEL D. BERNARDO MONTEAGUDO. Lima. 1825.

THE alliance about to be established between the new American republics, by the delegates assembled at the Isthmus of Panamá, may with justice be considered among the most remarkable events of political history. Confederacies between independent states, for the purpose of consulting and supporting the common interest, have existed from early times. The governments of ancient Greece had their mutual compacts, their long sustained council of Amphictyons, and their renowned Achæan league; some of the minor states of modern Europe have from time to time followed their example; and we behold at this day, the colossal powers of the old world linked together to maintain their dominion, nay, to secure their safety. The influence of these confederacies has been important, in proportion to their extent and their objects, but none of them has existed under circumstances so imposing, or been instituted on principles so broad and just in their political bearings, or been calculated to affect so deeply and widely the destiny of future generations, as that about to be formed by the Congress of Panamá.

Polybius tells us, that it was the boast of the Achæan league, while the wise and politic Aratus was at its head, to be founded on the basis of equality and liberty, and that to this were mainly to be ascribed its strength and its increase. But every one knows what was Grecian liberty, even in the best days of Grecian prosperity. The balance, between the rights of the people, and the power of the rulers, was never well adjusted; the laws of nations were not understood, because practised on a narrow scale; commerce, that great

instrument in drawing out the principles, and settling the rules of national intercourse, was hardly known. In short, liberty was too often the watchword of those, who desired freedom from law rather than from tyranny; and the cry of equality was a signal for levelling the fabric of power, as sustained by an existing government, that the schemes of ambition and misrule might be raised on its ruins. These defects, and others of a collateral nature, interwoven with the very texture of political institutions denominated republican, not only in Greece, but in other countries of Europe at later periods, have presented obstacles to any well organised confederacy in governments of this kind in the old world, which would bring the combined power and wisdom of the whole, to act for the mutual and equal benefit of the parts.

If we look at confederated despotisms, we find things in a still worse condition. Who has ever dreamt, that it was the aim of the present allied sovereigns of Europe, to lift a finger towards aiding the progress of the mind, or human improvement in anything, which implies freedom of thought, or scope of inquiry? All their acts declare the contrary, and prove this alliance to be a conspiracy against the liberty, as it is an outrage upon the rights of mankind. It is a combination to perpetuate ignorance, delusion, and slavery; to stop the current of public opinion, and let in upon the mind anew the Stygian waters of the dark ages; to make men bigots in the false creed of legitimacy, and infidels to the pure faith of reason and truth, liberty and right. Let public opinion be brought to this standard, and it is wisely judged, that it can be moulded to any shape, and impelled in any direction. Teach men to forget their rights, and abandon self respect, and you have no more to do to make them fit subjects for dragging the chains of slavery. The sovereigns of Europe are allied to prop up half a dozen tottering thrones, whose gothic structure is the mockery of an enlightened age like this, and to aggrandise half a dozen crowned heads, not merely at the expense of the independence of a hundred millions of the human race, but at the immensely greater sacrifice of retarding the progress of nations in those arts of self government, of which the human character and condition are susceptible, which afford the broadest foundation for all the advantages to be derived from the social compact, and

which are advancing so rapidly in every part of the world, where the shackles of antiquated forms are not felt.

The confederacy of Panamá is formed under auspices totally different from any, which have before existed. It has no prototype in the annals either of ancient or modern story. A hemisphere of the globe has become freed from the yoke of bondage, by hard struggles and by an energy, which only the spirit of freedom could inspire. The soil, which for three centuries was made sterile by the poisoned breath of tyranny, now gives growth and vigor to six great republics, as well organised as the circumstances of each will admit, and having for their basis the genuine principles of political liberty and justice. To give stability to these institutions; to remedy the numerous defects, which in their present stage they must necessarily possess; to consult and advance the common interests of twenty millions of people; to provide means of defence against aggression from without, and commotion from within; to secure peace and prosperity at home, and importance and respect abroad; to settle on definite grounds those political maxims, which for ages unnumbered will regulate the intercourse of nations, whose infancy will soon grow into a powerful manhood; to concert all the plans, in short, which wisdom can devise, and union execute, for increasing the strength and prosperity of every branch of the confederacy; these are some of the points to be considered at the Congress of Panamá. The spectacle of such a body, assembled for such a purpose, is not more novel than imposing; its members are literally the legislators of a continent; and it was a just remark of Bolivar, that this event 'will form a memorable era in the diplomatic history of America, and a hundred ages hence, when posterity seeks the origin of the international law of the southern republics, she will consult the records of the proceedings in the Isthmus.' Viewed in this light, and it is certainly the true light, the Congress of Panamá is an object of deep interest to all parts of the American continent, and although our own government is at present widely separated from the sphere of its action, yet it must necessarily, at a future day, participate largely of the influence of its measures.

In touching on this subject at present, we aim at nothing more, than to state a few historical facts, with very brief

remarks on the general purposes of the Congress of Panamá, reserving for a future occasion a discussion of its direct policy and designs, as these may be more fully developed. The project of a union between the new governments of the south, seems to have been early conceived by some of the leaders of the revolutionary contest, as a step highly important and desirable, but the first who undertook the business of carrying it into execution was Bolivar. If it succeeds, as its friends anticipate, he must be regarded the Aratus of the league. Till Peru had shaken off the yoke of the Royalists in 1821, so far at least as to set up a nominally independent government under San Martin, which it has since confirmed and maintained, and until Mexico had escaped from the folly and tyranny of her mock emperor Iturbide, it was obvious that any plan of confederacy between the other states could not be accomplished, with a prospect of permanency or advantage. But in 1823, when the power of Old Spain was virtually destroyed in South America, and each republic began to stand firm on its own basis, Bolivar, as President of Colombia, formally invited the governments of Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Buenos Ayres, to send delegates to the Isthmus of Panamá, or to any other place that might be agreed on, with the express design of establishing the confederacy, and proceeding in their deliberations, as the instructions and united wisdom of the parties might dictate. This invitation was promptly accepted by Mexico and Peru, and an agreement, in the nature of a treaty, was entered into by each with the plenipotentiaries from Colombia, containing a mutual pledge to send delegates to the confederate Congress. Chile and Buenos Ayres delayed joining the compact, for reasons not well known, nor does it appear, that they have yet determined to take a part by their representatives in the convention. The obstacles to their union are probably of a local and transient nature, which will in due time be removed, and the way be left open for them to come into the compact.

In this stage of the undertaking, as it was necessary for some one government to take the lead in its further prosecution, Bolivar sent a circular to all the republics, dated at Lima, December 7, 1824, recapitulating what had been done, and proposing, that delegates should immediately be

sent to Panamá, by those governments which had agreed to join in the confederacy, suggesting that they ought not, out of courtesy to the delinquents, to delay any longer to profit by the advantages, which it was confidently believed would be derived from such a convention. The governments of Colombia and Mexico promptly acceded to this request of the Liberator of Peru, and two delegates from each of these countries proceeded to the place of destination. It is presumed, also, that the republic of Guatamala will join the confederacy at the outset, and send its representatives.

The preliminary steps of the Congress are indicated by Santander, Vice President of Colombia, in his reply to Bolivar's circular. It is there proposed, that the governments of Colombia and Peru should authorise their plenipotentiaries, as soon as they arrive at Panamá, to enter into a direct correspondence with the other republics, acquainting them that conferences had commenced, and renewing the invitation for each to send representatives. That these same plenipotentiaries should have power to select such a place, as they should think proper, in the Isthmus of Panamá, for their preparatory conferences. And, again, that whenever delegates from Mexico, Guatamala, Colombia, and Peru, or from any three of these republics, should be convened, they should have power to install the assembly of confederate delegates, and proceed to the business for which they were convened. It is moreover stated, in the letters of the President of Mexico, and the Vice President of Colombia, that each of these governments, through their ministers plenipotentiary in Washington, had invited the government of the United States to take part in the deliberations at Panamá.

Such is a very brief history of the origin of this assembly; future events must unfold the character and extent of its doings. Meantime we hasten to a few observations on its proposed objects, as far as these can be understood, from the hitherto imperfect expositions of the parties themselves, and from the political condition and interests of the several republics. The pamphlet, whose title is prefixed to this article, and which was published at Lima within the last twelve months, affords some hints on this subject; and although it bears marks of haste, and is crude in composition, it is on the whole drawn up with a good deal of ability, and

manifests in the writer a deep knowledge of South American politics. It comes out as the posthumous work of Monteagudo, and this may be the true story of its origin, although the testimony in the preface is no more, than the assertion of an anonymous writer. It is a point of no consequence, however, who was the author of the pamphlet, as it treats of topics in no degree affected by the authority, from which the discussion of their merits proceeds. The name of Monteagudo is sufficiently notorious in the recent history of South American affairs, particularly in Chile and Peru. He raised himself from obscurity by the force of his talents, and his address, and acted a most conspicuous part in the strange drama of San Martin's political career. In Peru he was entrusted with almost absolute power by San Martin, but he used it for purposes, which have been condemned in the severest terms by those, who profess to be acquainted with his conduct. At all events, the people became so much exasperated with his proceedings, that he was compelled by their united clamors to leave the government, while San Martin was yet in Peru. From that time he lived as a private citizen till last January, when he was assassinated in the streets of Lima.

Here we will dismiss the supposed author of the pamphlet, and turn to the hints it contains on the Congress of Panamá. Three great points are said to claim the devoted and united attention of all the republics, and these are *independence*, *peace*, and *security*. To establish independence, preserve peace, and form a system of mutual guaranties, are objects equally essential to the prosperity, and even existence, of all the new governments, and such as can only be attained, in the most effectual manner, by a Congress, in which each shall be represented, and which shall proffer reciprocal support, fix the rules of national intercourse, and reconcile national dissensions. In his circular to the republics, Bolivar describes the Congress as a body, which may 'act as a council to us in our distresses, as a rallying point in our common danger, as a faithful interpreter of our public treaties when difficulties occur, and, in fine, as a mediator in all our differences.' This summary embraces all that can be desired from a confederacy, and it only remains to inquire what are the details, and whether they are practicable.

The thing of primary and vital importance to the South American Republics is their *independence*, and in this each one of them has an equal concern. Without independence, in short, they could not exist, and no sacrifices can be too great, no precaution superfluous, which shall have a tendency to establish this on an unshaken foundation. Where a common enemy is to be feared, whose designs are equally hostile to each republic, common prudence would dictate, that the best pledge of security would be in the united wisdom, resources, and strength of the whole. The only possible mode of effecting this union, of applying these resources, is by a Congress of delegates from the respective governments, authorised to concert proper measures, and to become responsible for supplying such a portion of the means for carrying them into operation, as may fall to the lot of each, or as exigences may require. All the reasons might here be adduced in favor of a general Congress, which were so powerfully urged by Jay and Hamilton in the *Federalist*, when they insisted on a union of our States, as the best security against foreign invasion. If you would preserve peace, let it be seen, that you are prepared to meet, and have power to resist, an enemy.

The South Americans would not seem longer to have grounds for fear, that any further attacks will be made on them by a foreign foe, yet they are doubtless wise to keep on the side of caution. The arm of Old Spain is paralysed, not more in the new world, than in the old. The brilliant victory of Ayacucho severed the last thread of her dominion on the western continent, and wrested from her hand forever the sceptre of power, which she first acquired by bloodshed and treachery, and which for three centuries she has wielded only as an instrument of oppression. The last remnants of her prostrated forces are now collected at San Juan de Ulloa, a small island on the coast of Mexico; at the castle of Callao, the port of Lima, under the semibarbarous Rodil; and at Chiloè, in the southern borders of Chile. In these retreats their insignificance protects them, and from these they would soon be driven, were it possible for them to gain such accessions of strength, as to make them otherwise than insignificant.

In this state of things it is manifest, that all actual danger from Old Spain has ceased, and as far as that humbled

nation is concerned, the independence of the new world is secured. But the South Americans say, and perhaps justly, that her pride is not subdued, although her physical force is crushed, and that the spirit of revenge is stifled, not quenched, but slumbers to burst forth with increased fury, should her strength be revived. She will set up pretensions, and call them rights, and fortify them with records, decrees, and traditions, till the series terminates in the famous bull of Pope Alexander the Sixth, making over to Ferdinand and Isabella all the western world beyond a certain line, drawn from pole to pole through such points, as his Holiness was pleased to designate. The obstinacy, that has struggled for several years in a contest, which all the world has seen must end, as it has done, in defeat and disgrace to Spain, is too blind to see the reality at first, and too inveterate to be reclaimed by reason, justice, or common prudence. It will seize the first opportunity to renew its rashness, which accident or the progress of events may throw in its way, and which shall communicate the faintest gleam of life to a lingering hope.

Moreover, the Holy Alliance exhibits an aspect, which the South Americans are disposed to contemplate with much suspicion. Not that this formidable combination has anything in America, which can rightfully claim its attention, but the melancholy examples of Naples and Spain prove abundantly, that it is ready to meddle where it has no rights, nor proper interests. These kind hearted sovereigns, by their own professions, carried war and death into the Peninsula to make the people happy, and teach them how to manage their own affairs. Who knows how soon the same tender concern may be extended to America? And when this fit of sympathy shall once have taken as deep hold, as it did in the cases of Naples and Spain, why should it not be expected to see the bayonets of their Imperial, Most Catholic, and Most Christian Majesties, teaching the same lessons of happiness and self government to the Mexicans and Colombians, as they have before done with such triumphant success to the Neapolitans and Spaniards? The Holy Alliance exists as a whole, and in its parts, on a name, a shadow, the shadow of *legitimacy*, and when the people shall see what a vain, empty thing it is, the bubble will burst, the charm will be dissolved, and the airy fabric will fall. To keep the peo-

ple in ignorance, therefore, and to suppress by collusion or force the first germs of intelligence and liberty wherever they appear, are among the most essential maxims of this political compact. Nothing but the want of adequate power, and the doubtful nature of the undertaking, would prevent these maxims being applied in America, with as much energy as in Europe. And although nothing can seriously be apprehended, it is prudent, to say the least, that the republics of the new world should be on their guard.

Then, again, there is the new empire of Brazil, bordering by a line of immense length on Colombia, Peru, and Buenos Ayres. It does not yet appear, in what direction this sprig from a royal stock will shoot. The names of emperor, crown, and sceptre, have no charms for American ears, and if the things, as well as the names, are to put forth the same virtues here, that they have done in the old world, it is safe to say, that American ground cannot long be a quiet depository for such symbols of ancient darkness and domination. It is true, that Don Pedro the First has thus far shown a spirit of accommodation to circumstances, which augurs not badly. We are even told of the *independence* of Brazil, and a *constitution*, and these under an emperor! It will puzzle a republican of the United States to understand a combination of ideas so incongruous. If Don Pedro would become a president, and declare the Brazilians independent not only of Portugal, but of all hereditary forced dominion, whether from abroad or at home, and then give them a constitution recognising an equality of rights, and liberty to choose their own mode of being governed, he might talk in earnest of the independence of Brazil. But till this be done, there never will be any permanently good understanding between that country, and the neighboring states. Jealousies will arise, aggressions be committed, and wars break out. The idle dream of legitimacy will play at times in his Brazilian Majesty's imagination, and the great champions of this phantom in Europe will have succors for an oppressed brother, which may be contributed indirectly, if not directly, to such an extent, as to render him a troublesome neighbor to the adjoining republics. In their relations with Brazil, these governments have a common interest, and such relations may properly be discussed by a general Congress.

Such are some of the advantages, which the cause of South American independence will derive, from a single body of delegates convened from all the states, especially in the first stages of their national existence. The next important step is to secure a permanent *peace*, not only in regard to their standing with foreign nations, but with each other. It is of vast moment, at the outset of their political intercourse, that such measures should be concerted, and maxims adopted, as will be mutually understood and received. By judicious arrangements of this sort, the usual causes of national differences and discord will in a good degree be obviated, a uniformity of thinking on these subjects will gradually diffuse itself through the different parts, and a similarity of habits and opinions prevail. In short, each will see its real interests in their true light, and be ready to make sacrifices, where they are required from another. The governments of South America are all established on precisely the same principles, their condition has hitherto been the same, they have thrown off the same yoke of oppression, and they have before them the same difficulties to encounter in their national progress; they speak the same language, have the same manners, domestic habits, and characteristic peculiarities. It follows, of course, that similar laws and political institutions are strictly applicable to the whole. In this respect there can be no essential difference between Mexico and Chile, Buenos Ayres and Colombia. Yet some of these governments are separated by so wide a distance from others, that the bonds of national sympathy will every day become weaker, distinctive national habits will spring up, and, as in all other nations, not cemented by any local attachments, rival interests will begin to take root, and the seeds of discord to be scattered, and the fair blossoms of peace to be blasted. With every hope realised, the day will come, perhaps, when these evils will have a being, but this is no reason why their causes should not be timely cut off to as great a degree as possible. And since there is such an entire similarity in everything pertaining to the people of these countries, and in the principles of the governments they are constituting, it is evident, that they are in a condition to be guided by one general system, formed by a united voice. And it is moreover evident, that this same harmony of cha-

racter, customs, opinion, and feeling, may be turned to the best account in promoting a universal spirit of conciliation and peace. An assembly of representatives, such as that at Panamá, is the only body, that could frame and give authority to a system, that would be suited to this uniformity of character, condition, and interests.

Peace will be preserved, not only by such a system, adapted alike to the institutions and internal policy of each government, but also by having a tribunal of weight and authority, representing the interests of all parties, to which may be referred national differences, the exposition of doubtful points in national law, the settlement of disputed rights and titles, and the interpretation of treaties. Many a long and bloody war would have been avoided in the old world, had these points been clearly defined, and understood in the same sense by the parties, before a difference of opinion, or a misapprehension, had kindled animosity, and an imaginary injury had prompted to unseasonable aggression.

Lastly, a general Congress is calculated to afford the most perfect guaranty, which can be given, of the *security* of the several states, or of the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as independent sovereignties. As the representatives meet on reciprocal grounds, the very essence of the confederacy will be a pledge to conduct their deliberations, and form their decisions, on principles of perfect reciprocity. It is only upon this basis, indeed, that the Congress can exist at all, and if this be removed, the union will necessarily dissolve. While such an assembly continues, therefore, in the full and active exercise of its delegated powers, the states individually can have no stronger safeguard to their rights as separate governments. A majority in the assembly will rule, but the interests of each member of the confederacy are so nearly the interests of all the others, that a case can hardly occur, in which a majority would come to a decision essentially detrimental to the minority, and not at the same time be equally so to themselves. The extraordinary circumstance already repeated, that is, the remarkable similarity of interests on all subjects, which will be brought before this body, guards its deliberations with a system of checks and balances, which leaves it no power to act, while it acts at all as a united assembly, except for the common good. This must

inevitably be the character of the assembly, unless it can be supposed, that the majority will conspire to accelerate their own ruin.

Navigation and commerce are yet in their infancy in the South American republics; the laws of nations concerning this kind of intercourse are very imperfectly understood there, as well as the theory of the freedom of trade, and the rights of neutrals in time of war. Obstacles, which have proved most serious to the peace and prosperity of the old countries, will be removed, if the laws of international communication can be defined by a competent tribunal at this period, and be watched over and interpreted as occasions may hereafter require. In the administration of justice, and the general forms of internal government, the laws of Old Spain still prevail throughout Spanish America. These must gradually be reformed, and abolished, and their place supplied by others in unison with the spirit of free constitutions. Such a change must be produced slowly, but it will be done much more surely, when promoted by the influence of a general Congress, which will collectively be acquainted with the condition and wants of the separate republics, and be able to apply such counsels and such remedies as are most needed, and as will command the confidence and respect of the people.

But we aimed only at a few hints on this subject, and have already transgressed our intended limits. As far as we can collect the views of the South American writers, from such of their remarks as we have seen, it may be expected, that the immediate attention of the Congress will be drawn to some or all of the following topics, as enumerated in the *Gaceta de Colombia* of the 27th of February, 1825.

1. To form a solemn compact, or league, by which the states, whose representatives are present, will be bound to unite in prosecuting the war against their common enemy, Old Spain, or against any other power, which shall assist Spain in her hostile designs, or any otherwise assume the attitude of an enemy.

2. To draw up and publish a manifesto, setting forth to the world the justice of their cause, and the relations they desire to hold with other christian powers.

3. To form a convention of navigation and commerce, applicable both to the confederated states, and to their allies.

4. To consider the expediency of combining the forces of the republics, to free the islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba from the yoke of Spain, and, in such case, what contingent each ought to contribute for this end.

5. To take measures for joining in a prosecution of the war at sea, and on the coasts of Spain.

6. To determine whether these measures shall also be extended to the Canary and Phillipine islands.

7. To take into consideration the means of making effectual the declaration of the President of the United States, respecting any ulterior design of a foreign power to colonise any portion of this continent, and also the means of resisting all interference from abroad with the domestic concerns of the American governments.

8. To settle by common consent the principles of those rights of nations, which are in their nature controvertible.

9. To determine on what footing shall be placed the political and commercial relations of those portions of our hemisphere, which have obtained, or shall obtain their independence, but whose independence has not been recognised by any American or European power, as was for many years the case with Hayti.

This is a formidable list of subjects, and enough to show, that, if they should all be discussed, the first Congress at Panamá will not have an idle session. As to the question, whether the United States ought to join in the confederacy, it can hardly be doubted, that such a step would at present be highly inexpedient. Nearly all the topics for primary consideration, are such as pertain exclusively to the local interests of the South American republics; any close alliance, or active interference of the United States, would embarrass, rather than facilitate some of the most important deliberations of the Congress. Besides, our friendly relations with Old Spain render it impossible for us to participate in any measures of war, or hostility, either by counsel or action, which her enemies may think themselves compelled to adopt. The pledge of the President of the United States may be considered as sacred and permanent, so far as the warm and universal approbation of the country, when it was given, may be regarded as clothing it with such a character. In his message to Congress two years ago, speaking of the European powers, President Monroe used

the following dignified and decided language. 'We owe it to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments, who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light, than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.' The South Americans cannot want a more hearty and decided expression of interest in their concerns, and of friendly feeling towards them, than is contained in this paragraph. The government of the United States has recognised the independence of all the republics, and formed with them on mutual terms the relations of sovereign and independent nations. Should the great cause of American freedom be assailed, whether at the north or the south, the people of the United States will be ready to take up arms, and unite with all the friends of liberty on the continent in defence of their common rights. At such a crisis there would be strong motives for a union of counsel, in a general congress of delegates collected from every part of America. As it is contemplated, that the Congress of Panamá shall be a permanent body, holding its sessions statedly from time to time, the day may arrive, when the local affairs of the south will be so adjusted, that there will be few national interests in those countries, which are not common to the north. At such a period, also, a union may with great propriety be formed.

But notwithstanding we think it would be manifestly premature and impolitic, for the United States to join the confederacy at this stage of the business, yet there are many reasons why representatives from our government should be present, and take part in such discussions as effect our immediate interests, and be prepared to express the sense of the government on all topics of general concern. Let the acts of the Congress be what they may, since they will apply to all the southern re-

publics, they must ultimately affect the United States; and it is not easy to foresee or calculate the advantages that would be gained, or the evils that would be averted, in our future national progress, by exercising a timely and salutary influence in the counsels, whose professed design is to form a system of mutual intercourse and political operations, for six distinct governments on the western continent, some of them already powerful, and all possessing the means of rapid growth and strength.

ART. IX.—*Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy Junior, of Massachusetts.* By his Son, JOSIAH QUINCY. Boston. 1825. Cummings, Hilliard & Company. 8vo. pp. 498.

THE history of the American revolution, familiar as it is in its prominent features, relates to a subject of so much importance, as may well inspire that general and growing interest, which is observable, to learn the minuter circumstances, that may be communicated by authentic memoirs, respecting the causes, principles, and incidents of the contest, and of the distinguished agents in the great transaction. During the war, all hearts were engaged in active and arduous efforts, to bring it to a successful issue. While such energies were in exercise, the interesting preliminary questions relative to colonial rights and duties, allegiance and supremacy, which had been so amply and ably discussed, were superseded. When peace was declared, and independence secured, the whole country was miserably exhausted by the exertions and sufferings incident to the arduous struggle, and all became earnestly engaged, according to their opportunities, in repairing their wasted fortunes, or in securing the means of subsistence in the various employments, to which they had been accustomed, or in the new pursuits which were opened by the revolution.

To these exertions there were, for a time, many discouraging obstacles. The change of political relations, resulting from the revolution, impeded, in a degree, the prosecution of some of the former branches of business. Time, experience,

and more abundant means, than were then possessed, were necessary for successful pursuits, in the new avenues which were presented. In the mean time, the public debt was pressing, no adequate national provision existed for its discharge, and the honorable exertions of individual states to comply with their obligations, were beyond their means, created discontents, and, in one instance, rebellion. To these discouraging incidents, were added some untoward circumstances, in reference to the brave men, who fought the battles of the revolution. Commutation pay and Cincinnati honors excited a dissatisfaction, that for a time restrained the generous emotions, which would otherwise have naturally prevailed.

From these and other causes, which might be mentioned, we are not to look to the early years of our national progress, immediately after the war, for any very intense interest in the history of the revolution. The important discussions which succeeded, relative to a new organisation of the national government, commanded almost exclusive attention to that object. The French revolution, which followed, revived congenial feelings and sentiments connected with the American contest; but the bloody and revolting transactions, which accompanied that memorable struggle, repressed the early sympathies, which were manifested, and considerate men devoted all their influence, to guard against the dangers of perverted sentiment, to establish the new national edifice on solid foundations, and to maintain a safe and steady course in the administration of public affairs, during the fierce and alarming conflicts of contending nations. It was then that a recurrence to the principles of the revolution was less cordially cherished, by becoming the instrument of party. In every stage, however, it may be affirmed, there has been no real want of attachment to those principles. Men only differed as to the time, manner, and occasion of their expression, and as to their application. In the course of events, there is happily a return to 'the old good sense and old good humor' of the country; and we have arrived at a period, commencing with the treaty of Ghent, when a greater degree of political catholicism prevails, and among the various interesting topics to which a liberal curiosity is extended, the principles, causes,

events, and characters of the revolution, have their just share of public attention.

Speculations and details of this description are more valuable and deserving a complacent reception, as they are free from party views, and are not for the purpose of reviving extinguished animosities. They are regarded as a just tribute to departed worthies; as preserving precious elements of national history; as instructive lessons for political conduct, and as laudable incitements to manly sentiment and magnanimous deportment, in seasons of distress and danger. Under such impressions, they come with a lively warmth, but with a pure and chastened tone, from men of refined taste and elevated views. We follow them to scenes of strenuous action, not for the indulgence of angry passions, but from dutiful regards and grateful remembrances, in harmony with generous affections, and not unfriendly to that diffusive philanthropy, which it is desirable to cultivate.

——— hinc maxima porrò
Accepit Roma, et patrium servavit honorem.

A memoir of the life of *Josiah Quincy junior* could, at no period, be uninteresting to the American people; but from the considerations which have been suggested, and from the remarks of the worthy and respectable editor, we cannot but think the time of publication to be well chosen.

'By the lapse of half a century, the actors in the scenes immediately preceding the war of the American Revolution, begin to be placed in a light and at a distance, favorable at once to right feeling and just criticism. In the possession of freedom, happiness, and prosperity, seldom if ever before equalled in the history of nations, the hearts of the American people naturally turn towards the memories of those, who, under Providence, were the instruments of obtaining these blessings. Curiosity awakens concerning their characters and motives. The desire grows daily more universal to repay, with a late and distant gratitude, their long neglected, and often forgotten, sacrifices and sufferings.' p. v.

The volume consists of a well written biographical sketch of Mr Quincy, of copious extracts from his journals, kept on a tour to the Southern Provinces, as they were then denominated, and on a visit to England, of copies of letters to and from his friends and correspondents, principally on political

topics, and a reprint of his Observations on the Boston Port Bill.

'The chief memorials of Josiah Quincy junior, belonging to this class, were, by his last will, bequeathed to his son, the editor of this work. They have frequently been solicited for publication, but, with the exception of the few extracts, which Gordon made and inserted in the first volume of his History of the American Revolution, no part has before been submitted to the press. They are now given to the general eye, not so much because they belong to that individual, as because his memory, from the circumstances of his life, death, character, and labors, is inseparably identified with the times in which he lived, and with the fortunes of his country.' p. vii.

The family of Quincy commences, on American ground, with Edmund Quincy, who came from England with the Rev. John Cotton, and arrived at Boston, September, 1633. Josiah Quincy junior was of the fourth generation from that venerable head, being the youngest of three brothers, sons of Josiah Quincy of Braintree, Massachusetts, who was the youngest son of Edmund Quincy, grandson of the Edmund first named. This family, in all its branches, and in every generation, has furnished distinguished men, who have, in a high degree, deservedly enjoyed the public confidence, in places of public trust and employment. The first Edmund Quincy was one of the representatives of Boston, to the first General Court held in the colony. His only son, Edmund, who died in 1697, was a magistrate of the county of Suffolk, and lieutenant colonel of the Suffolk regiment. John Quincy, his son, born 1689, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, for many successive years, and afterwards a member of the Council. Edmund, his brother, was, in early life, a representative of Braintree, afterwards member of the Council, and Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature, from 1718 to his death, in 1738. He died of the small pox, in London, being, at that time, agent from Massachusetts, relative to a controversy with New Hampshire, respecting the boundary line between the two provinces. In grateful return for his eminent public services, a grant of one thousand acres of land was made to his heirs, by the General Court, and a monument was erected to his memory, at the place of his interment, in London, (Bunhill-fields,) at the expense of the province.

Josiah Quincy, his youngest son, accompanied his father to England. In 1755 he was employed to negotiate with Pennsylvania and New York, for assistance against the French aggressions on the frontiers. In the execution of this commission he became acquainted with Dr Franklin, with whom, and with other distinguished men of the age, he kept up a correspondence until his death, in 1784, having for many years lived in retirement, on his paternal estate, in Braintree. This estate, now the seat of his grandson, editor of this work, is in *Quincy*, a town set off from Braintree in 1792. In that town, also, is the paternal estate of John Quincy, above mentioned. It includes *Mount Wollaston*, the residence, in early times, of Thomas Morton, who was routed from his disorderly establishment by our sturdy ancestors. This estate is now the property of his great grandson, John Quincy Adams, President of the United States.

The subject of this memoir was born in Boston, February 23d, 1744.* He 'acquired the rudiments of a classical education,' we are informed, 'at Braintree, under the tuition of Mr Joseph Marsh, who was for many years master of a highly respected private school in that town.' We are induced to believe, that his classical studies were merely commenced with Mr Marsh, for, on reference to a list of scholars at Master Lovel's school, in Boston, on which we may be allowed to rely, it appears, that young Quincy entered that celebrated school in 1754, and left it in 1759, when he was matriculated at Harvard College. Of his collegiate and professional studies and acquirements, and the developement of his character at that early period, we have the following information in the Memoir.

'In 1759, he entered Harvard University, where his industry, zeal, and unconquerable thirst for learning, were conspicuous. His taste was refined by an intimate acquaintance with the ancient classics, and his soul elevated and touched by the spirit of freedom they breathe. His compositions during this period also prove, that he was extensively conversant with the best writers of the French and English schools. Above all, the genius of Shakspeare seems to have led captive his youthful imagination. In his writings, quotations, or forms of expression, modelled upon those of that author, perpetually recur. There still exists among his papers, a

* Son of Josiah and Hannah Quincy. His mother was a daughter of John Sturgis Esq. of Yarmouth.

manuscript of the date of 1762, he then being in the junior class of the college, of seventy closely and minutely written quarto pages of extracts from that writer.

'He was graduated in 1763, with unblemished reputation. Three years afterwards, on taking the degree of Master of Arts, he pronounced the English oration, at that time a new thing in the exercises of the University, and considered its highest academic honor. His subject was "Patriotism," and it appears by the periodical publications of the day, that he acquired, both on account of the composition and delivery, great reputation.

'From the University, he passed in 1763, into the office of Oxenbridge Thacher Esq. in Boston, one of the most eminent lawyers of the period, and entered upon the study of the law with that intense ardor and industry, which were his distinguishing characteristics. Mr Thacher died in July 1765. Mr Quincy remained in the office during the residue of his student's term, took a general oversight of its concerns, and on entering his professional career, succeeded to an extensive practice, which his talents, diligence, and fidelity, in a great measure, secured to himself. His industry while a student, and during the first years of his profession, is proved by several manuscript volumes, in his own hand, consisting of "Reports of cases and points of law, solemnly adjudged in the Supreme Court of the Province," part of which are original, and part copied from the minutes of eminent lawyers.

'The arguments of Auchmuty, Thacher, Gridley, Otis, Adams, and other distinguished lawyers, with the cases cited, in various important questions, are here abstracted and preserved.' pp. 7—9.

It may be hoped, that the early specimens of Mr Quincy's literary industry, whilst a student, will not be lost. Our printed reports are but of modern date. The persevering labors of Mr Dane have preserved to us several manuscript cases of importance, which would otherwise have slept in oblivion. The volumes compiled by Mr Quincy, of 'Reports of cases and points of law adjudged in the Superior Court of the Province,' must contain, it may be presumed, much valuable information, and modern lawyers would be gratified by the perusal of the arguments, though merely in abstract, of such men as Auchmuty, Thacher, Gridley, Otis, and Adams.

Mr Quincy was well fitted for his profession by his eminent talents and acquirements, and his distinguished eloquence; adding to these advantages an unremitting industry, and attention to the business intrusted to his care, he soon acquired an extensive degree of practice. His ardent mind,

however, could not remain exclusively devoted to the duties of his profession, during the interesting political questions, which then agitated the country. The course of his studies, his family connexions, the band of eminent patriots with whom he had intimate intercourse, and especially the influences which the conversation and example of such a man as Oxenbridge Thacher, the Gamaliel at whose feet he was brought up, must have exercised, could not but engage him most devotedly in the various public topics of the day. Of this gentleman, the venerable John Adams, in one of his letters, gives an animated portrait.

'From 1758 to 1765, I attended every superior and inferior court in Boston, and recollect not one in which he did not invite me home to spend evenings with him, when he made me converse with him as well as I could, on all subjects of religion, morals, law, politics, history, philosophy, belles lettres, theology, mythology, cosmogony, metaphysics; Locke, Clark, Leibnitz, Bolingbroke, Berkley; the preestablished harmony of the universe, the nature of matter and of spirit, and the eternal establishment of coincidences between them; fate, foreknowledge absolute; and we reasoned on such unfathomable subjects as high as Milton's gentry in pandemonium, and we understood them as well as they did and no better. To such mighty mysteries he added the news of the day, and the tittle-tattle of the town. But his favorite subject was politics, and the impending threatening system of parliamentary taxation and universal government over the colonies. On this subject he was so anxious and agitated, that I have no doubt it occasioned his premature death. From the time when he argued the question of writs of assistance to his death, he considered the king, ministry, parliament, and nation of Great Britain, as determined to new model the colonies from the foundation, to annul all their charters, to constitute them all royal governments, to raise a revenue in America by parliamentary taxation, to apply that revenue to pay the salaries of governors, judges, and all other crown officers, and, after this, to raise as large a revenue as they pleased, to be applied to national purposes at the exchequer in England; and, further, to establish bishops, and the whole system of the Church of England, tithes and all, throughout all British America. This system, he said, if it was suffered to prevail, would extinguish the flame of liberty all over the world; that America would be employed as an engine to batter down all the miserable remains of liberty in Great Britain and Ireland, where only any semblance of it was left in the world.'*

* Letter to Mr Niles, of Baltimore, dated February 13, 1818.

We perceive, in this delineation, the character not merely of an individual, but of the age, in its leading features. There was a free, bold, decisive, manly style of thought and action prevailing, inherited from a hardy, persecuted ancestry, and cherished by our literary, civil, and religious institutions; a temper which could not brook oppression, or abuse of power in any of its forms. The foundations, sustaining the spirit of liberty, were deep, strong, and indelible. The library of Harvard College, by the munificence of the younger Hollis, who did for law and polity what his uncle had done for theology, was stored with the best writers on those subjects, and her sons drank deeply from this 'well of English undefiled.' Lord Mansfield said once, in debate, alluding to Otis's Essay on the Rights of the Colonies, that he seldom looked into *such things*; but in another case, about the same time, in a speech which is far more honorable to his memory,* he expresses his enthusiastic admiration of President De Thou's dedication of his history, which he never could read, he said, without rapture. If prejudice could have been dismissed, his heart might have been touched, as was the soul of Chatham, by sentiments and opinions, flowing from lips and pens in an infant country, not inferior to the admired composition of President De Thou.

At the time of the stamp act, and until after its repeal, Mr Quincy was a student in Mr Thacher's office, and doubtless partook of the high excitement which prevailed at that period. His first political essays were two pieces, published in the Boston Gazette, in September or October, 1767, under the signature of *Hyperion*. This first essay of the young Tyrtæus of the day discovers the strong sensations, with which he viewed the measures, adopted by the parent country in reference to the colonies; and the whole course of his conduct, during the few remaining years of his life, was in harmony with the energetic commencement of his political labors, as evinced in the essays of *Hyperion*.

At this period the alarming declaration, accompanying the repeal of the stamp act, had begun to be carried into execution by the act for laying duties in the colonies, on paper, glass, painters' colors, tea, &c. with a clause enabling the

* Chamberlain of London, versus Allen Evans, in the House of Lords.

crown to establish a general civil list in the provinces, to an indefinite extent. This measure, connected with the establishment of a board of commissioners of customs in Boston, was considered as evidencing a fixed determination in the administration to pursue, to an unknown and alarming extent, the project of raising a revenue from the colonies by indirect taxation, without their consent; the high tone of authority intended to be maintained, in regard to the colonies, was further evidenced by restraining the governor, council, and assembly of New York, from passing any act until the mutiny act should be complied with.

Soon afterward, (November 2, 1767,) was commenced the publication of the celebrated *Farmer's Letters*, in Pennsylvania, a series of papers powerfully addressed to the understanding and feelings of the American people, in reference to the claim of a parliamentary taxation. Mr Quincy's letter to the Reverend John Eagleston, written September 15, 1768, gives a view of his determined spirit, and of the state of things at that anxious period, when the arrival of troops at Boston, to secure the execution of the obnoxious measures, was expected.

The transactions of the town of Boston, mentioned in that letter, (p. 16,) were the results of a town meeting on the 12th of the same month, at which, besides recommending a convention of delegates to meet in Boston, it was resolved,

'That the freeholders, and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, would, at the peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend all and singular the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities, granted in their royal charter.

'That as there was an apprehension, in the minds of many, of an approaching war with France, those inhabitants, who were not provided with arms, should be requested duly to observe the laws of the province, which required that every householder should furnish himself with a complete stand.'

Respecting the last resolution, Doctor Gordon quotes a sarcastic remark published in the *New York Journal*, denominating the intimation of the prospect of a French war, a '*disingenuous jesuitical pretence.*' It was doubtless a mere disguise, which would seem to have been equally unbecoming and impolitic, unless it were intended as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem*, having reference to some false and de-

lusive apologies, which had been offered for the maintenance of a considerable military force in the colonies.

On the 3d of October, a few days after the arrival of the two regiments from Halifax, Mr Quincy again appears in the Boston Gazette, unintimidated, under the signature of Hyperion.

'After what has been said and wrote on both sides of the Atlantic, upon colony affairs; after the most perspicuous demonstration of the illegality and ill policy of the measures pursued against this continent; it would be an affront to the understanding to attempt setting the matter in a clearer point of view. The meanest capacity must perceive, the remotest peasant in the wilds of America must feel, the consequences.

'British taxations, suspensions of legislatures, and standing armies, are but some of the clouds, which overshadow the northern world. Heaven grant that a grand constellation of virtues may shine forth with redoubled lustre, and enlighten this gloomy hemisphere!

'If ever there was a time, this is the hour, for Americans to rouse themselves, and exert every ability. Their all is at a hazard, and the die of fate spins doubtful! In vain do we talk of magnanimity and heroism, in vain do we trace a descent from the worthies of the earth, if we inherit not the spirit of our ancestors. Who is he, who boasteth of his patriotism? Has he vanquished luxury, and subdued the worldly pride of his heart? Is he not yet drinking the poisonous draught, and rolling the sweet morsel under his tongue? He, who cannot conquer the little vanity of his heart, and deny the delicacy of a debauched palate, let him lay his hand upon his mouth, and his mouth in the dust.

'Now is the time for this people to summon every aid, human and divine; to exhibit every moral virtue, and call forth every christian grace. The wisdom of the serpent, and the innocence of the dove, and the intrepidity of the lion, with the blessing of God, will yet save us from the jaws of destruction.

'Where is the boasted liberty of Englishmen, if property may be disposed of, charters suspended, assemblies dissolved, and every valued right annihilated, at the uncontrollable will of an external power? Does not every man, who feels one ethereal spark yet glowing in his bosom, find his indignation kindle, at the bare imagination of such wrongs? What would be our sentiments, were this imagination realised?

'Did the blood of the ancient Britons swell in our veins, did the spirit of our forefathers inhabit our breasts, should we hesitate a moment in prefering death to a miserable existence in bondage?

Did we reflect on their toils, their dangers, their fiery trials, the thought would inspire unconquerable courage.' pp. 19—21.

In October, 1769, he married the eldest daughter of William Phillips, Esquire, an eminent merchant in Boston.

'In this connexion, the result of an early attachment, Mr Quincy found a companion, possessed of an intellect and spirit, capable of appreciating and supporting his own character and virtues. During his life she was the confidant of his noble views, and entering, with like ardor, into his political course, cheerfully submitted to the privations it induced, encouraging him with all her influence to risk the perils to which his open, undisguised zeal in the cause of his country, at that time, were thought to expose him and his family. She survived her husband three and twenty years; his fame and memory being the chief solace of her life; and the perfect fulfilment of parental duty to their surviving child, its only object.' p. 29.

The professional eminence of Mr Quincy prompted an immediate application to him to assist in the defence of Captain Preston, and eight soldiers of the 29th British regiment, charged with the murder of five citizens of Boston, in the bloody tragedy of the 5th of March, 1770. His sense of duty, as a lawyer, impelled him to yield to the request, and in this course, he had the support of his distinguished copatriot, John Adams, who was senior counsel in that memorable defence. Mr Quincy's father, having heard reports of his engagement for the prisoners, wrote an anxious letter of inquiry on the subject. The son's reply, (p. 36,) is respectful and affectionate, but decided as to the course of conduct on the occasion, which he had determined to adopt.

The published account of the trial contains Mr Quincy's able and eloquent argument at length; which is also given in this volume. It discovers great ingenuity, and beauty of sentiment and expression, and we cannot but notice the address with which he not only avoids embarrassment, from his well known political character, but finds occasion to introduce trains of thought connecting the grounds of defence with his political opinions and doctrines.

Captain Preston, who was tried separately, and six of the soldiers, were acquitted. Two of the soldiers were convicted of manslaughter.

In 1771 and 1772, Mr Quincy's labors, as a political writer, were incessant, and all his performances in the great pub-

lic cause, in which he engaged, 'breathed that bold, ardent, and vehement spirit, which characterised his life, speeches, and writings.' These exertions, with his professional labors, exhausted his strength, and enfeebled a frame naturally not robust. In the latter part of 1772, such decided symptoms of pulmonary disease were manifested, that he found it necessary for a time to abandon the field of debate, and to repair to a more southern climate. On the eighth of February, 1773, he embarked for Charleston. On the same day, he commenced a Journal, from which the author of the Memoir has enriched his volume with many extracts. The generous reader will readily sympathise with the interesting valetudinarian throughout the whole of his tour, from his affectionate impressions as he sails down the harbor of Boston, in view of the shades of Braintree, the cherished abode of his childhood, and the residence of a beloved parent, until his return. A severe storm, which occurred when the packet was within thirty leagues of the destined port, is feelingly depicted. The tremendous gale was attended with rain, hail, snow, and sleet, and continued with few and inconsiderable intermissions, for five successive days.

Mr Quincy arrived safely at Charleston, February 28th. His first impressions of that flourishing city were favorable, and every day of his residence, and of his intercourse with its kind and polished inhabitants, afforded additional sources of gratification. He remained in Charleston, until March 25th, when he proceeded homeward by land, visiting North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, noticing objects worthy of attention, in reference to soil, cultivation, productions, commerce, manners and customs, political and civil institutions, and cultivating an acquaintance with many eminent men, particularly with those who had engaged with interest in the cause which he had so much at heart.

At New York he took passage for Newport, passing down the Sound, without visiting Connecticut, and arrived home about the middle of May. During this brief absence, his active mind, surmounting the disease with which he was afflicted, was busily engaged, and the remarks in his journal, on men and things, give abundant evidence of discrimination and just discernment, and of the generous and lofty spirit

with which he was animated. In South Carolina, he became acquainted with Lavinus Clarkson, David Deis, T. L. Smith, John Mathews, Miles Brewton, Charles C. Pinckney, E. Rutledge, Messrs Bee, Parsons, Simpson, and Scott, (the seven last mentioned all gentlemen of the bar,) Roger Smith, Thomas Lynch, J. Rutledge, Charles Pinckney senior, and J. Allston. C. C. Pinckney and E. Rutledge, were, at that time, just returned from England, where they had pursued their legal studies, and had taken the degree of Barrister. Mr Quincy was much in the society of these gentlemen, and received from them many polite attentions. 'I was much entertained,' he observes, 'with Mr Pinckney's conversation, who appeared a man of brilliant natural powers, and improved by a British education at the Temple.' Mr Rutledge possessed a manuscript collection of Reports, which Mr Quincy, from his devotedness to his profession, found time to copy, amidst his many social engagements, in that hospitable city.

In North Carolina he visited William Hill, 'a most sensible, polite gentleman, and though a crown officer, a man replete with sentiments of general liberty, and warmly attached to the cause of American freedom,' Colonel Dry, Dr Cobham, at whose house in Wilmington, he dined, with Messrs Harnett, Hooper, Burgwin, and Dr Tucker. Mr Harnett he describes as the 'Samuel Adams of North Carolina, except in point of fortune.' At Newbern he visited Judge Howard; breakfasted with Colonel Buncombe, of Tyrrell county, and at Edenton spent his time 'in dining and conversing with the most celebrated lawyers.'

On the 6th of April, our traveller entered Virginia. We cannot but regret that Mr Quincy failed of an interview with the distinguished congenial characters in Virginia, from whom he would doubtless have received a most cordial reception. In Maryland he was occupied with attending the courts of law; he mentions no gentleman to whom he was introduced, but Daniel Dulany, the Attorney General. On the 23d of April he entered Pennsylvania, and appears to have been particularly pleased with all he saw in that flourishing province. In Philadelphia he received civilities from Dr Shippen, Thomas Smith, Mr Dickinson, author of the Farmer's Letters, Mr Galloway, Speaker of the House, Joseph Reed, Jonathan B.

Smith, Chief Justice Allen and his sons, Jared Ingersoll, and Peter Wycoff. His visit to Mr Dickinson is thus briefly communicated.

'May 3d. The morning of this day spent in reading, and amusements of the itinerary kind. Dined with John Dickinson Esq. the celebrated Pennsylvania "Farmer," at his country seat, about two miles and a half from town. A large company were very elegantly entertained. This worthy and able politician (for such he is, though his views and disposition lead him to refuse the latter appellation) here enjoys "otium cum dignitate" as much as any man.' p. 133.

Mr Quincy would willingly have protracted his visit in Pennsylvania, but finding a friend from New England, who was returning home, and desirous of his company, he left Philadelphia on the 9th of May. The travellers passed rapidly through New Jersey. At New York he made but few observations. He mentions a visit to the theatre, an establishment then a novelty in this country. On the performance, and on the character and tendency of theatrical amusements, he has the following remarks.

'May 11th. Breakfasted with Major Bayard; received a few complimentary visits, and an invitation to dine with Colonel William Bayard, at his seat in the country. Went to the theatre in the evening, saw the Gamester and the Padlock performed. The actors make but an indifferent figure in tragedy, a much better in comedy. Hallam has merit in every character he acts. I was, however, upon the whole, much amused; but as a citizen and friend to the morals and happiness of society, I should strive hard against the admission, and much more the establishment of a theatre, in any state of which I was a member.' pp. 138, 139.

The journal of this tour closes with these observations.

'What I have set down will be chiefly useful to myself. A bird of passage may easily collect, peradventure bear away, food for itself; but can transport on its fleeting tour very little, if anything, of sufficient solidity for the nourishment of others.

'Were I to lament anything, it would be the prevalent and extended ignorance of one colony of the concerns of another; were I to breathe a wish, it would be, that the numerous and surprisingly increasing inhabitants of this extensive and fertile continent, may be thoroughly attentive to, and suitably actuated by, the blessings of Providence, the dangers which surround them, and the duties they owe to God, themselves, and posterity.' pp. 140, 141.

Soon after Mr Quincy's return to Boston, a disclosure was made of the letters of Bernard, Hutchinson, and other crown officers, which had been transmitted from England by Dr Franklin. Mr Quincy partook, in full measure, of the indignant excitement produced by that communication, and wrote a series of essays on the subject, under the signature of 'Marchmont Nedham.' A paragraph from one of these essays is quoted in the Memoir, from which we may form a judgment of the style and temper of the whole. 'If to appear for my country is treason, and to arm for her defence is rebellion,—like my fathers, I will glory in the name of rebel and traitor,—as they did in that of puritan and enthusiast.'

An acquaintance which he had made with George Clymer, of Philadelphia, distinguished in the annals of his country for enlightened patriotism, sound judgment, and undeviating integrity, produced a letter from that gentleman (p. 144) on the politics of the day, in July, 1773, soon after a return from a visit to Boston, to which Mr Quincy replied in his characteristic manner.

In May, 1774, Mr Quincy published 'his chief political work,' Observations on the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Bill, with thoughts on Civil Society, and Standing Armies. It is a bold and spirited performance, exposing in strong and indignant language the threatened vengeance on the town of Boston; and on the concluding topics, Civil Society and Standing Armies, discovering most industrious research into various sources of information, historical, legal, or political, having a bearing on the subject; an extent of investigation not to have been expected in a sudden production, as he declares it to be, 'from one of infirm health, perplexed with various avocations.' It was dedicated to the Freeholders and Yeomanry of the Country. 'In you, Gentlemen,' said he, 'as the landed interest of the country, do I place my confidence, under God, at this day.' He did not live to witness the conflict, which, it is evident from his writings, he anticipated. When that serious crisis arrived, the freeholders and yeomanry of the country did not disappoint his expectations. When this work was advertised as being in the press, the author received an anonymous letter from the British Coffee House, in which he

was represented as being 'in imminent hazard of the loss of life and confiscation of estate.' 'There is,' said the writer, 'but one expedient left to save you—Employ, for God's sake, those rare talents with which he hath blessed you, in convincing the people, that they have nothing to do, but to submit, and make their peace with government. You may by this means, probably, make your peace, and ward off the punishment that hangs over your head.' To this address Mr Quincy thought it proper to pay more attention, than is usually given to anonymous communications. He immediately published a reply in the Massachusetts Gazette. 'The danger and the wrongs of my country,' said he, 'are to me equally apparent. In all my public exertions, I feel a sense of right and duty, that not only satisfies my conscience, but inspires my zeal. While I have this sentiment, I shall persevere, till my understanding is convinced of its error; a conviction that will not be wrought by the arm of power, or the hand of an assassin. Threats of impending danger, communicated by persons who conceal their name and character, ought never to deter from the path of duty; but exciting contempt rather than fear, they will determine a man of spirit to proceed with new vigor and energy, in his public conduct.'

Soon after the execution of the Port Bill had commenced, Mr Quincy received letters from Mr Clymer and Mr Dickinson, on the state of affairs, and communicating the feelings and opinions prevailing in Pennsylvania, and in other colonies, on the sufferings and proceedings of the Bostonians. The following is an extract of a letter from him to Mr Dickinson, dated Boston, August 20, 1774.

'At the urgent solicitation of a great number of warm friends to my country and myself, I have agreed to relinquish business, and embark for London, and shall sail in eighteen days certainly. I am flattered by those who perhaps place too great confidence in me, that I may do some good the ensuing winter, at the court of Great Britain. Hence I have taken this unexpected resolution. My design is to be kept as long secret as possible,—I hope till I get to Europe. Should it transpire that I was going home, our public enemies here would be as indefatigable and persevering to my injury, as they have been to the cause in which I am engaged, heart and hand; perhaps more so, as personal pique would be added to public malevolence.

'I would solicit, earnestly, intelligence from you, sir, while in London. I shall endeavor to procure the earliest information from all parts of the continent. As I propose dedicating myself wholly to the service of my country, I shall stand in need of the aid of every friend of America; and believe me, when I say, that I esteem none more capable of affording me that aid, than those who inhabit the fertile banks of the Delaware.' p. 173.

Mr Quincy's intention of a voyage to England, was communicated only to his relations and a few political friends. He embarked privately at Salem, on the 28th of September, 1774, carrying with him suitable letters of introduction to those characters, with whom he wished to become acquainted. The celebrated Congress of 1774 was then setting at Philadelphia. Samuel Adams and John Adams were members of that body. From John Adams he received an affectionate letter before his departure. Samuel Adams, in a letter to Rev. Dr Chauncy, observed, that Mr Quincy had informed him of his intended voyage. 'I am persuaded,' he adds, 'he may do great service there.' The particular objects in view do not appear to be specified. The plan was evidently urged by the political friends in whom he had most confidence. It was probably for the purpose of personally gaining and communicating such information, as could not prudently be communicated by letter, to counteract representations which might be made by governor Hutchinson and others, who had then recently repaired to England, and perhaps with the hope of some salutary impression on members of the government, or other men of influence, from one who had so many points of character to recommend him. He landed at Falmouth on the 8th of November, and made the following entry in the journal, which he began at the commencement of the voyage.

'Having reached the famous island of Great Britain, I am prone to contemplate the glorious deeds that have made it immortal,—but alas! my affections and my duty call me to consider the state of my native country.' p. 221.

On the same day he wrote to Mrs Quincy, concluding a letter which he had commenced some time previously at sea. To this lady almost all his letters written whilst in England, and which appear in the Memoir, are addressed. They are almost wholly on political topics, manifesting the interest taken by that intelligent lady in the high concerns, to which her

husband was devoted. They were designed also, as is often expressed, for communication to a circle of political friends. His health, we find by the first letters, was improved by the voyage, and he immediately engaged in active attention to every object of interest around him.

'November 9th. Proceeded from Falmouth to Bodmyn, twenty-two miles. Passed through the town of Pendryn, and several small villages. The roads hilly and good, affording agreeable riding, and delightful land prospects. The cultivation of the land can scarcely be realised by a mere American; it is to a wonderful perfection. The first reflection upon the immense labor that must be bestowed on these fields was, where the men lived, who did the work. Extensive fields, highly tilled, without a house. This was an object, which occurred almost every hour. The villages in which the laborers and peasantry chiefly reside, are built of small stones and clay, generally miserable accommodations for honest labor. The lower orders of people are servile in their obeisance, and despondent in their appearance.

'I could not help remarking, that if the little liberty diffused through Britain, could give such a beautiful face to nature, what would be the appearance, if there was as much general liberty, as was consistent with that fundamental principle of social policy, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

'November 11th. Though a very cold and stormy day, I viewed Plymouth Docks, and went on board and all over the Royal George, a first rate, pierced for two hundred and ten, and carrying two hundred guns. The ropewalks, buildings, armory, arsenal, naval and warlike stores, exceed the power of the human mind to conceive, that doth not actually behold.

'I will not attempt to describe what I could scarcely realise to be true, while I was actually viewing. My ideas of the riches and powers of this great nation are increased to a degree I should not have believed, if it had been predicted to me.

'I also saw many 64, 74, 80, and 100 gun ships; and went on board a loaded Indiaman just arrived; but this, being after viewing the preceding magnificence, did not much move me. The various materials, and the several degrees of building, from the laying of the keel, to the finishing an hundred gun ship, which were very carefully viewed by me, in several instances, excited an astonishment I never before experienced.' pp. 224—226.

The impressions of national strength, which the view of these and other specimens of power and magnificence pro-

duced, do not appear to have excited discouraging apprehensions of the fate of his country's cause, in the event of a resort to arms, but the whole tenor of his correspondence, whilst in England, manifests a persuasion that such would be the issue of the controversy, and firm confidence in the result. On the 17th of November he arrived in London. We copy the following entries in his journal on that day.

'I was visited by Messrs Thomas Bromfield, C. Dilly, and J. Williams, from all of whom I received many civilities. Waited upon Dr Franklin, and drank tea with him. He appears in good health and spirits, and seems warm in our cause, and confident in our ultimate success. I find many friends to liberty and America, rejoiced on notice of my arrival.' pp. 227, 228.

On the same day he thus writes to Mrs Quincy ;

'About ten hours ago, I arrived in this great city, and am now at my lodgings, near the Hay Market. With you, and my friends, the first object and inquiry will be about my health and spirits. In one word (for just now I am a man of too much business to use many) they are both surprisingly fine,—rather bordering upon extravagance, than under par. Indeed, how could they be otherwise? From sea, I landed in fine health, and have now finished a most delightful journey of three hundred miles. The scenes of Plymouth Docks, Stonehenge, Wilton House (containing the statues and paintings of the Earl of Pembroke,) exceed all description ; nay, I will venture to say, that the imagination stretched to its utmost limits, cannot form any idea of their grandeur, without a view. The same may be said of Exeter and Salisbury cathedrals.—But why do I waste time upon any other subject, than my country?

'I have spent about two hours today with Dr Franklin. He appears the stanch friend of America, and confident of the ultimate success of its friends. He has promised me his patronage, and I have reason to believe him sincere. He inquired particularly after "his old friend," my father.' pp. 228, 229.

The residence of such a man as Mr Quincy in England, and his observations on men and things, in that interesting country, cannot but be highly engaging to every liberal mind. No reader of that description will be satisfied, without a perusal of his entire journal and correspondence during his visit, and the subject gains great additional importance with every American, from its reference to a most important period in our eventful history. We have only space for the admission of a few particulars noted in the journal.

'November 18th. This morning, J. Williams, Esquire, inspector of the customs in the Massachusetts Bay, waited upon me, and we had more than an hour's private conversation together. He informed me, that Governor Hutchinson had repeatedly assured the ministry that a union of the colonies was utterly impracticable; that the people were greatly divided among themselves, in every colony; and that there could be no doubt, that all America would submit, and that they must, and moreover would, soon.

'Dined with Doctor Franklin, in company with Doctor Bancroft and Mr Williams. Doctor Franklin confirmed the account given by Mr Williams relative to Governor Hutchinson, so far as that several of the nobility, and ministry, had assured him of the same facts.

'November 19th. Early this morning J. Williams, Esquire, waited upon me with the compliments of Lord North, and his request to see me this morning. I went about half past nine o'clock, and found Sir George Savil (as Mr Williams informed me) in the levee room. After a short time his lordship sent for Mr Williams and myself into his apartment. His reception was polite, and with a cheerful affability his lordship soon inquired into the state, in which I had left American affairs. I gave him my sentiments upon them, together with what I took to be the causes of most of our political evils;—gross misrepresentation and falsehood. His lordship replied, he did not doubt there had been much; but added, that very honest men frequently gave a wrong statement of matters through mistake, prejudice, prepossessions, and biases, of one kind or other. I conceded the possibility of this, but further added, that it would be happy, if none of those who had given accounts relative to America had varied from known truth, from worse motives.

'We entered largely into the propriety and policy of the Boston Port Bill. In the conversation upon this subject I received much pleasure. His lordship several times smiled, and once seemed touched. We spoke considerably upon the sentiments of Americans, of the right claimed by Parliament to tax,—of the destruction of the tea,—and the justice of payment for it. His lordship went largely and repeatedly into an exculpation of the ministry. He said they were obliged to do what they did; that it was the most lenient measure that was proposed; that if administration had not adopted it, they would have been called to an account; that the nation were highly incensed, &c.

'Upon this topic I made many remarks with much freedom and explicitness, and should have said more, had not his lordship's propensity to converse been incompatible with my own loquacity. His lordship more than thrice spoke of the *power* of Great Britain,

of their determination to exert it to the utmost, in order to effect the submission of the colonies. He said repeatedly, "We must try what we can do to support the authority we have claimed over America. If we are defective in power, we must sit down contented, and make the best terms we can, and nobody then can blame us, after we have done our utmost; but till we have tried what we can do, we can never be justified in receding. We ought, and we shall be very careful not to judge a thing impossible, because it may be difficult; nay, we ought to try what we can effect, before we determine upon its impracticability." This last sentiment, and very nearly in the same words, was often repeated,—I thought I knew for what purpose.

'His lordship spoke also upon the destruction of the Gaspee, and in direct terms twice said, that the commissioners were appointed to try that matter, and had transmitted accounts that they could obtain no evidence. This declaration being in flat contradiction to what I had several times heard Chief Justice Oliver declare to be the case from the bench, when giving his charges to the grand jury, was particularly noticed by me. His Honor ever most solemnly declared, in public and private, that the commission was to inquire whether any such event had happened, in order to send word to England, that so a trial might, or might not be ordered, as the evidence might be; and in the most express terms declared the commissioners had no power to try.

'In the course of near two hours' conversation, many things more passed between us. As many letters and messages were delivered to his lordship while I was present, I several times rose to depart, telling his lordship I was afraid I should trespass on his patience, or the concerns of others; but being requested to stay, I remained about two hours and then rose to go, but his lordship kept standing, while he continued his conversation with his usual spirit. Upon my departure he asked me when I should leave England. I told him it was uncertain,—but imagined not this twelvemonth. He hoped the air of the island would contribute to my health, and said he thought the most unhealthy months were past; and then saying, "I am much obliged to you for calling on me," we left each other to our meditations.' pp. 231—236.

'November 23d. Dined with Messrs Dilly, and a few friends of liberty, and spent the residue of the day in delivering letters. At night Mr Inspector Williams waited on me, with the compliments of Lord Dartmouth, and requested my waiting on him tomorrow at ten o'clock. Mr Williams gave me a curious account of a conversation with his lordship relative to my "Observations." Received the compliments of Governor Pownall to breakfast with him.

'November 24th. Waited upon Lord Dartmouth, and had about an hour and a half conversation with him. I was convinced that the American and British controversy would be much sooner, and much more equitably settled, if it were not for the malevolent influence of a certain Northern personage now in Great Britain.

'Lord Dartmouth being called out for a few minutes to attend the physicians of his lady, made his apology, and taking up a pamphlet that lay on his table said, "I would entertain you with a pamphlet ('Observations on the Port Bill,') during my absence, but I fancy you have seen *this*. I think you know the author of it." His lordship bowed with a smile, which I returned, and he retired for a few minutes. * *

'Was introduced by Doctor Franklin and Doctor Price, and spent part of the afternoon and evening with the Royal Society. Spent the residue of the evening with a club of friends of liberty at the London coffee-house. Was there introduced, by Doctor Franklin and Doctor Price, to Mr Alderman Oliver, Mr Vaughan, eight or nine dissenting clergymen, and several other gentlemen.

'I find the most sanguine hopes of good from the spirit of the Americans, and the most ardent wishes for their success.' pp. 240, 241.

'November 24th. The manufacturers begin to feel,—they know, they acknowledge, they must feel severely; and if you persevere, they must be ruined. But what are these men,—what are the body of this people? *The servants of their masters.* How easy it is for the ministry to frown or flatter them into silence. How easy to take the spoils of the nation, and, for a season, fill the mouths of the clamorous. It is true, your perseverance will occasion, in time, that hunger which will break through stone walls. But how difficult is it, how impracticable is it, for *mere commercial virtue* (if indeed it have any existence) to persevere. I repeat, therefore,—depend not upon this scheme for your deliverance. I do not say renounce it,—I say continue it; but look towards it in vast subordination to those noble, generous, and glorious exertions which *alone* can save you.'—*Letter to Mrs Quincy.* p. 248.

'November 27th. Doctor Franklin is an American in heart and soul. You may trust him;—his ideas are not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but are extended upon the broad scale of total emancipation. He is explicit and bold upon the subject, and his hopes are as sanguine as my own, of the triumph of liberty in America. It would entertain you, if I could spare time to relate all that is said of me and my designs; but I have no leisure for amusements of this kind.'—*Letter to Mrs Quincy.* p. 250.

'December 6th. About ten this morning Mr Commissioner Morris waited on me, and staid an hour and a half. His conversation was much on the propriety of my laying down some line of conduct, to which the colonies would accede, and by which the present controversy might be amicably adjusted. He urged much my waiting *again* upon Lord North and Lord Dartmouth, and insisted upon the propriety and expediency of this step. I thought I could discern the origin and drift of this curious discourse.' p. 253.

'There never was a time in which I wished more "to speak without a tongue," and "to be heard without ears;" then, as Shakspeare expresses it, "in despite of broad-eyed, watchful day," "I would into thy bosom pour my thoughts." This kingdom never saw a time, in which the minds of all ranks were more upon the rack with expectation; and when I tell you that yesterday in the coffee-room adjoining the House of Commons, one of the ministerial members offered to lay a wager of seventyfive guineas to twentyfive, THAT BOSTON WAS NOW IN ASHES,—you will not think my own bosom free from anxiety! It is now more than two months, since any advices have been received from America, of the state of things in your province.'—*Letter to Mrs Quincy.* p. 255.

'December 12th. At the desire of Lord Shelburne (transmitted by Doctor Price) I waited on his lordship, and spent two hours in conversation on American affairs. His lordship appeared a very warm friend to the Americans, approved much of their conduct and spirit, and said if they continued united they must have all they ask. He said the ministry would not be able to carry on a civil war against America; that they began to hesitate and would be obliged to give way.

'His lordship confirmed my former intelligence of Governor Hutchinson's assiduity, assurance, and influence, but in the end observed that the eyes of the nation and ministry must soon be opened. He particularly said that Lord Mansfield, last session, assured the House of Lords, that the plan they had laid would go down in America, *sine clade;* and affirmed that he had the best intelligence what might be carried through there. Lord Shelburne intimated, that he had no doubt Lord Mansfield's opinion was grounded on Governor Hutchinson's information. I had before had a very similar account of Lord Mansfield's declarations in the House, from Mr Counsellor Allyne and Mr Arthur Lee.' pp. 264, 265.

'Let me tell you one very serious truth, in which we are all agreed, *your countrymen must seal their cause with their blood.* You know how often, and how long ago I said this. I see every day more and more reason to confirm my opinion. I every day find characters dignified by science, rank, and station, of the same sentiment. Lord ——— said to me yesterday, "It is idle, it is

idle, Mr ———; this country will never carry on a civil war against America, we cannot, but the ministry hope to carry all by a single stroke." I should be glad to name the lord, but think it not best. Surely my countrymen will recollect the words I held to them this time twelvemonth. "It is not, Mr Moderator, the spirit that vapors within these walls that must stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Look to the end. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of the day, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the powers of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge, which actuate our enemies, public and private, abroad and in our bosom, to hope we shall end this controversy without the sharpest—the sharpest conflicts; to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapor, will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the end. Let us weigh and consider, before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle, this country ever saw."

'Hundreds, I believe, will call these words, and many more of the same import, to remembrance. Hundreds, who heretofore doubted, are long ere this convinced I was right. The popular sentiments of the day prevailed; they advanced with "resolutions" to hazard and abide the consequences. They must now stand the issue,—they must preserve a consistency of character,—THEY MUST NOT DELAY,—they must ———— or be trodden into the vilest vassalage, the scorn, the spurn of their enemies, a by-word of infamy among all men.'—*Letter to Mrs Quincy.* pp. 266—268.

'December 14th. Spent the evening with Mr Sayre, in company with Doctor Franklin and others. In the course of conversation Doctor Franklin said, that more than sixteen years ago, long before any dispute with America, the present Lord Camden, then Mr Pratt, said to him, "For all what you Americans say of your loyalty, and all that, I know you will one day throw off your dependence on this country; and notwithstanding your boasted affection for it, you will set up for independence." Doctor Franklin said, that he assured him no such idea was entertained by the Americans, nor will any such ever enter their heads, unless you grossly abuse them. "Very true," replied Mr Pratt, "that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event."' pp. 269, 270.

'Permit me to congratulate my countrymen on the integrity and wisdom with which the Congress have conducted. Their policy,

spirit, and union have confounded their foes, and inspired their friends. All parties agree in giving them a tribute of honor and applause.' 'You cannot well imagine the chagrin with which the ministry received the result of that glorious body. They are viewed as the northern constellation of glorious worthies, illuminating and warming the new world. I feel a pride in being an American. Neither my affection nor zeal, in any degree, abates in the cause of my injured country.

'Doctor Price desires his very warm thanks to Doctor Winthrop for his letter, which has been read in Parliament, and did much good.'—*Letter to Mrs Quincy.* pp. 271—273.

'My dear sir, before I close, I cannot forbear telling you that I look to my countrymen with the feelings of one, who verily believes they must yet seal their faith and constancy to their liberties, with blood. This is a distressing witness indeed! But hath not this ever been the lot of humanity? Hath not blood and treasure in all ages been the price of civil liberty? Can Americans hope a reversal of the laws of our nature, and that the best of blessings will be obtained and secured without the sharpest trials?

'Adieu, my friend,—my heart is with you, and whenever my countrymen command, my person shall be also.'—*Letter to Joseph Reed.* p. 281.

'January 2d. This evening I had two hours' conversation with Colonel Barré, and from him I learned that he was once the friend of Mr Hutchinson, in opposition to Governor Pownall, but that he had for a long time, and especially since his last arrival in England, wholly deserted him. Colonel Barré, while we were viewing the pictures taken from ruins found at Herculaneum, said, "I hope you have not the books containing the draughts of those ruins with you." I replied, there was one set, I believed, in the public library at our college. "Keep them there," said he, "and they may be of some service as a matter of curiosity for the speculative, but let them get abroad, and you are ruined. They will infuse a taste for buildings and sculpture, and when a people get a taste for the fine arts, they are ruined. 'Tis taste that ruins whole kingdoms; 'tis taste that depopulates whole nations. I could not help weeping when I surveyed the ruins of Rome. All the remains of Roman grandeur are of works, which were finished when Rome and the spirit of Romans were no more, unless I except the ruins of the Emilian baths. Mr Quincy, let your countrymen beware of taste in their buildings, equipage, and dress, as a deadly poison."

'Colonel Barré also added in the course of conversation, "About fifteen years ago, I was through a considerable part of your country; for in the expedition against Canada, my business called me to pass by land through Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Albany. When I returned again to this country, I was often

speaking of America, and could not help speaking well of its climate, soil, and inhabitants; for you must know, sir, America was always a favorite with me; but will you believe it, sir, yet I assure you it is true, more than two thirds of this island at that time thought the Americans were all negroes!"

'I replied I did not in the least doubt it, for that if I was to judge by the late acts of parliament, I should suppose that a majority of the people of Great Britain still thought so; for I found that their representatives still treated them as such. He smiled, and the discourse dropped. Colonel Barré was among those, who voted for the Boston Port Bill.' pp. 289, 290.

The part taken by Colonel Barré on the Port Bill, has appeared strangely inconsistent with his uniform conduct, in every other instance, on American affairs. He partook, it appears, of the general indignation excited in England, by the destruction of the tea in Boston. It was considered as a culpable violation of private property, and unworthy of the high principle, which had gained to the American cause many distinguished advocates in England. Dr Franklin was so impressed with the unfavorable influence produced by this incident, that he wrote to influential men in Massachusetts, earnestly recommending payment for the property destroyed. This would probably have been done, if the severe measure of the Port Bill had not been so immediately adopted, or even afterwards, if the terms of that act had not precluded any hope or expectation of relaxation, though such payment should have been made.

Again, writing to Mrs Quincy, January 11, 1775, he says;

'In the nation you have many friends and hearty well wishers to your cause. The lords and commons are—*what they are;* but ANOTHER CHARACTER is in principle your adversary, and will never be reconciled to your deliverance, till he sees, what, peradventure, he will not wait long for, a spirit going forth, which compels rulers to their duty. I shall take care to keep you constantly informed of events as they rise. Very important ones must occur in a short time. The stanch friends of our country are here in high spirits. I should flatter your national vanity, if I told you all that is said and thought of Americans at this day; but the sentiments of this people are as fluctuating, and sometimes as boisterous as the ocean.' pp. 303, 304.

'January 20th. Attended the debates in the House of Lords. Good fortune gave me one of the best places for hearing, and taking a few minutes.

'Lord Chatham rose like Marcellus,—*Viros supereminet omnes.* He seemed to feel himself superior to those around him. His language, voice, and gesture were more pathetic, than I ever saw or heard before, at the bar or senate. He seemed like an old Roman senator, rising with the dignity of age, yet speaking with the fire of youth. The illustrious sage stretched forth his hand with the decent solemnity of a Paul, and rising with his subject, he smote his breast with the energy and grace of a Demosthenes.

'This great and astonishing character opened with some general observations, on the importance and magnitude of the present American quarrel, (as he called it). He enlarged upon the dangerous and ruinous events, that were coming upon the nation, in consequence of the present dispute, and of the measures, already begun and now carrying on by his majesty's ministers. He arraigned their conduct with great severity and freedom. pp. 318, 319.

Lord Chatham's speech is given at length in the journal, from Mr Quincy's notes taken at the time. He afterwards remarks, that he had great satisfaction in reading his reports of the debates in the House of Lords, to one or two friends who heard them, that they thought them very correct, and spoke of the blunders, omissions, and misrepresentations of the printed accounts. Dr Franklin, in a letter to Mr Quincy's father, observes, 'The notes of the speeches taken by your son, whose loss I shall ever deplore with you, are exceedingly valuable, as being by much the best account preserved of that day's debate.'

We continue the extracts from the journal.

'Lord Camden (undoubtedly the first common lawyer in England) spoke next on the side of America, and in support of the motion. He equalled Lord Chatham in everything but that fire and pathos, which are the *forte* of his lordship. In learning, perspicuity, and pure eloquence, probably no one ever surpassed Lord Camden.' p. 329.

'The Marquis of Rockingham also supported the motion. Lords Littleton, Suffolk, Gower, Townsend, Rochford, and Weymouth, spoke in opposition. I omit stating what their lordships said, lest I should be suspected by any, who may see this journal, of an unfair report of their speeches. But a very remarkable saying of Lord Gower I cannot omit. His lordship said, "My lords, I am for *enforcing* these measures; and" (with great *sneer* and *contempt*) "let the Americans sit talking about their natural and divine rights! their rights as men and citizens! their rights from God and nature!"

'The Duke of Richmond, in the course of his speech, said, "Some nobles seem to think that regular troops can easily vanquish raw soldiers. But, my lords, discipline was intended only as a substitute for what the Americans have already; attachment to their cause, virtue to inspire, a common cause, their all, to keep them to their duty. Americans will keep to their duty without discipline. They will keep to their standard without fear of discipline in case they desert it. My lords, Americans have the substance of what discipline is only the shadow. Discipline is only the substitute for a common cause, to attach through fear, and keep to their ranks and standard those, who would otherwise desert them. But, my lords, suppose you succeed, you cannot enforce these acts; you cannot force a government upon any people. You may spread fire, sword, and desolation, but that will not be government. You must change your places as you make your march of destruction. When you leave one place to subdue another, your government is gone."

'"You cannot force men to serve in office. You cannot force men to be counsellors, judges, or sheriffs. You cannot compel jurors to sit on trial. You cannot force juries to present offences; in short, no people can ever be made to submit to a form of government they say they will not receive."

'The house divided on the question about ten, after the preceding debates. Contents, eighteen; noncontents, seventyseven, including proxies.*

'The Duke of Richmond, Lord Shelburne, and Lord Camden, pledged themselves to attend at all hazards, and at all times, as Lord Chatham had done.' pp. 333—335.

'January 23d. Attended a long debate in the House of Commons on American affairs. Speakers for the Americans; Burke, Johnston, Charles Fox, T. Townsend, Lord J. Cavendish, Captain Lutterell, Alderman Sawbridge, &c.—eightytwo. Against the Americans; Sir William Meredith, Lord North, Lord Clare, Sir George Macartney, Sir G. Eliot, Lord Stanley, &c.—total one hundred and ninetyseven.

'This debate and division show that if king, lords, and commons can subdue America into bondage, against the almost universal sentiment, opinion, wish, and hope of the Englishmen of this island, the deed will be done.' p. 337.

'It is a good deal against my own private opinion and inclination, that I now sail for America. I have had no letter from there since they knew of my arrival. I know not what my next letters may contain. Besides the fine season is now coming on here, and

* The question was on Lord Chatham's motion, for an address to the King, for the removal of his majesty's forces from the town of Boston.

Dr Fothergill thinks Bristol air and water would give me perfect health.

'On the other hand, my most intimate friends (except Mr Bromfield) insist upon my going directly to Boston. They say, no letters can go with safety, and that I can deliver more information and advice *vivâ voce*, than could or ought to be written. They say, my going now must be (if I arrive safe) of great advantage to the American cause.

'March 1st. On this day I had about an hour and a half of private conversation with Dr Franklin, on the subject of the present situation of American affairs, and what course America, and especially New England, ought now and during the spring and summer to hold.' p. 340.

'March 3d. This day being the day before my departure, I dined with Dr Franklin, and had three hours private conversation with him. Dissuades from France or Spain. Intimate with both the Spanish and French ambassadors, the latter a shrewd, great man. By no means take any step of great consequence, unless on a sudden emergency, without advice of the continental Congress. Explicitly, and in so many words, said, that only New England could hold out for ages against this country, and if they were firm and united, in *seven years* would conquer them.

'Said, he had the best intelligence that the manufacturers were bitterly feeling, and loudly complaining of the loss of the American trade. Let your adherence be to the nonimportation and nonexportation agreement a year from next September, or to the next session of parliament, and the day is won.' pp. 341, 342.

Here the journal ends. It contains copies of several valuable letters to and from his American correspondents, which have not been mentioned. Among these are letters from his father, from Joseph Reed, Rev. Dr Chauncy, John Dickinson, James Lovel, Joseph Warren, Nathaniel Appleton, and Thomas Cushing. The letter from Dr Warren, as the author of the Memoir observes, 'is peculiarly interesting, because few similar records of his mind remain, and as it evidences, that the life he sacrificed on Bunker's Hill was offered, not under the excitement of the moment, but with a fixed and deliberate purpose. No language can be more decisive of the spirit, which predominated in his bosom. "It is the united voice of America to preserve their freedom, or lose their lives in defence of it."' The letter is dated Boston, November 21, 1774.

'As nothing interesting, which I am at liberty to communicate, has taken place since your departure from home, except such mat-

ters as you could not fail of being informed of by the public papers, I have deferred writing to you, knowing that upon your first arrival in London, you would be greatly engaged in forming your connexions with the friends of this country, to whom you have been recommended. Our friends, who have been at the continental congress, are in high spirits on account of the union which prevails throughout the colonies. It is the united voice of America, to preserve their freedom, or lose their lives in defence of it. Their resolutions are not the effect of inconsiderate rashness, but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation. I am convinced, that the true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused, through all ranks and orders of people, in any country on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America. The provincial congress met at Concord at the time appointed. About two hundred and sixty members were present. You would have thought yourself in an assembly of Spartans, or ancient Romans, had you been a witness to the ardor which inspired those, who spoke upon the important business they were transacting. An injunction of secrecy prevents my giving any particulars of their transactions, except such as by their express order were published in the papers; but in general you may be assured, that they approved themselves the true representatives of a wise and brave people, determined at all events to be free. I know I might be indulged in giving you an account of our transactions, were I sure this would get safe to you, but I dare not, as the times are, risk so important intelligence.

'Next Wednesday, the 23d instant, we shall meet again according to adjournment. All that I can safely communicate to you shall be speedily transmitted. I am of opinion that the dissolution of the British Parliament, which we were acquainted with last week, together with some favorable letters received from England, will induce us to bear the inconvenience of living without government, until we have some farther intelligence of what may be expected from England. It will require, however, a very masterly policy to keep the province, for any considerable time longer, in its present state. The town of Boston is by far the most moderate part of the province; they are silent and inflexible. They hope for relief, but they have found from experience, that they can bear to suffer more than their oppressors or themselves thought possible. They feel the injuries they receive,—they are the frequent subject of conversation; but they take an honest pride in being singled out by a tyrannical administration, as the most determined enemies to arbitrary power. They know that their merits, not their crimes, have made them the objects of ministerial vengeance. We endeavor to live as peaceably as possible with the soldiery, but disputes and quarrels often arise between the troops and the inhabitants.

'General Gage has made very few new manœuvres since you left us. He has indeed rendered the entrenchments, at the entrance of the town, as formidable as he possibly could. I have frequently been sent to him on committees, and have several times had private conversations with him. I have thought him a man of honest, upright principles, and one desirous of accommodating the difference between Great Britain and her colonies in a just and honorable way. He did not appear to be desirous of continuing the quarrel, in order to make himself necessary, which is too often the case with persons employed in public affairs; but a copy of a letter via Philadelphia, said to be written from him to Lord North, gives a very different cast to his character. His answer to the provincial congress, which was certainly ill judged, I suppose was the work of some of that malicious group of harpies, whose disappointments make them desirous to urge the governor to drive every thing to extremes; but in this letter (if it be genuine) he seems to court the office of a destroyer of the liberties, and murderer of the people of this province. But you have doubtless read the paper, and thought with indignation on its contents.

'I wish to know of you how affairs stand in Great Britain, and what was the principal motive of the dissolution of Parliament. If the late acts of Parliament are not to be repealed, the wisest step for both countries is fairly to separate, and not spend their blood and treasure in destroying each other. It is barely possible that Britain may depopulate North America, but I trust in God, she never can conquer the inhabitants; and if the cruel experiment is made, I am sure, whatever fortunes may attend America, that Britain will curse the wretch, who, to stop the mouths of his ravenous pack of dependants, bartered away the wealth and glory of her empire.

'I have not time to say more at present, than to assure you that from this time you may expect to hear from me, news or no news, by every vessel, and that my earnest wish is that your abilities and integrity may be of eminent service to your country.' pp. 204—209.

Dr Franklin did not continue long in England after the departure of Mr Quincy. He remained until all hope of the adoption of the mild and reconciliatory measures, which he so studiously promoted, was dissipated, and then returned to share in the impending dangers of his country. These two eminent men, like the elder and younger Pliny, held high converse together, as on the brink of a volcano. The fate attending the ancient worthies was reversed. The aged Franklin survived for many years, and witnessed the independence of his country. Mr Quincy did not live to reach

his beloved home. A hurried, incoherent letter, written on the British coast, and another at sea, on the 21st of April, prepare us for the sad scene which ensued. The last was written at his dictation, by a seaman, who paid devoted attentions to the interesting sufferer. 'It was a letter, full of the most interesting and affecting communications to his family and nearest friends. This letter still exists among his papers, in the rude hand writing of an illiterate sailor.' To this seaman he repeatedly said, 'that he had but one desire and prayer, which was that he might live long enough to have an interview with Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren; that granted, he should die content.' From his last letter some interesting extracts are given in the Memoir.

'My going to America at this time was very considerably against my inclinations, especially as Doctor Fothergill was of opinion, that Bristol waters would be of great advantage to me. But he did not dissuade me from going to America, but advised it very strongly in preference to my staying in London, or its environs.

'The most weighty motive of all, that determined my conduct, was the extreme urgency of about fifteen or twenty most stanch friends to America, and many of them the most learned and respectable characters in the kingdom, for my immediately proceeding to Boston. Their sentiments what ought to be the conduct of Boston, and of the continent, at this, and the approaching season, I had heard very often in the social circle; and in what things they differed, I perfectly knew. It appeared of high importance, that the sentiments of such persons should be known in America. To commit their sentiments to writing, was neither practicable nor prudent at this time. To the bosom of a friend they could intrust what might be of great advantage to my country. To me that trust was committed, and I was, immediately upon my arrival, to assemble certain persons, to whom I was to communicate my trust, and had God spared my life, it seems it would have been of great service to my country.'

'Had Providence been pleased, that I should have reached America six days ago, I should have been able to converse with my friends. I am persuaded that this voyage and passage are the instruments to put an end to my being. His holy will be done!' pp. 346—348.

To recall to view the sad and affecting circumstances, attending the departure of that exalted spirit, is a melancholy office. We would follow, in silent musings, the filial steps of his biographer, then an orphan child, unconscious of his loss,

and who now, after the lapse of half a century, performs the pious duty of recording the life and death of his father, with vivid affection; presenting his revered image, in the best expression, to the admiring view of his beloved country.

Mr Quincy expired on the 26th of April, 1775. A few hours afterwards, the ship bearing his remains arrived at Gloucester. There the funeral rites were performed, in gloomy unison with the storm of war, which he so often foreboded, and which had then commenced. The body was afterwards conveyed to Braintree, and deposited in the burial ground at that place.* On the death of his widow, in 1798, a monument was erected to their memory by their son, furnished with an appropriate epitaph, written by John Quincy Adams, concluding with the following lines.

'STRANGER,
In contemplating this monument, the frail tribute
Of filial gratitude, and affection,
Glows thy bold breast with patriotic flame?
Let his example point the paths of fame!
Or seeks thy heart, averse from public strife,
The milder graces of domestic life?
Her kindred virtues let thy soul revere,
And o'er the best of mothers drop a tear.'

* Mr Quincy's will bears date February 28, 1774. Francis Dana, Jonathan Jackson, John Adams, William Phillips junior, and John Lowell, were named executors. A specific legacy to his son is characteristic, and indicates the school to which he was devoted. 'I give to my son, when he shall arrive to the age of fifteen years, Algernon Sidney's Works, John Locke's Work, Lord Bacon's Works, Gordon's Tacitus, and Cato's Letters. May the spirit of liberty rest upon him.' Two thousand pounds were bequeathed to Harvard University, in case his son should die in his minority, as a foundation for a Professorship of Moral Philosophy, Law, and Oratory.

Art. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*Ode for the Celebration of the Battle of Bunker Hill, at the Laying of the Monumental Stone, June* 17, 1825. By Grenville Mellen. 8vo. pp. 16. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, and Co. 1825.

This, being an occasional ode, suffers of course, under the unfavorable circumstances attending such productions. There is usually on these festal or national occasions, even too much competition among the brothers of the lyre. They fairly overwhelm the literary public, somewhat in the way, in which a crowd of spectators may be supposed to press on the hero of the occasion. The excitement of good or grateful feelings, too, renders everything, which adorns or heightens them, agreeable at the time, without very unkind examination, and when those excited feelings have past, these performances are apt to be forgotten with them. What a myriad of odes and poems a great national event inspires, especially in those countries, where the poetic ranks are formed by bands of professional veterans, instead of our thin partisan corps Scores of volumes might have been done up, from the monodies and elegies on Charlotte of England, or the triumphal odes on Waterloo, and how little of all could now be easily remembered, except Lord Byron's share of both. Having, however, been often pleased and sometimes delighted, with certain former occasional pieces of Mr Mellen, we read the 'Ode on Bunker Hill,' when it appeared, and have found it highly superior to much of the poetry which that occasion produced.

It is an omen of the poetic aspiration of the author, to attempt the ode, more especially in these matter of fact times, when even the least regular of its forms must have method in its fine madness. It was permitted to Pindar, to give a stanza or two to the subject of his piece, and then to diverge through all the tangles of the mythology, guided in the labyrinth by a thread, which it requires very fine optics to see. Thus in the third Pythian ode, we should imagine Hiero must have thought the bard rather long in coming to his theme, and as having quite as much to say of Chiron as himself. It is something as if a modern poet should open an ode to Napoleon, of more than two hundred lines, by a hundred devoted to the art of printing, and finally bring in the hero, with some such brief apothegm, as that 'Xerxes the great did die.' This irregularity of allusion and digression, corresponded in some measure to the license Lord Byron allowed himself, in some of his

later poems. In the ancient ode, the name or city of the hero was authority for allusion enough, to bring in the history of the family or city, the circumstances attending the foundation of the latter, and the lives and history of the colonists. Nay, if ever other hero had done or suffered the like before, he is sure to be introduced, not as an example, or illustration only, but through all the details of his birth and parentage. Thus in a Pindaric Ode on the battle of Bunker Hill, it would be indispensable to begin with General Putnam, and relate his birth, family, and education; the annals of Pomfret would be run through, and its great men eulogised; the Indian adventures of the General, and particularly his thorough roasting at their hands, would follow; this would lead to the burnings at Smithfield; from Queen Mary to Spain, from Spain to the colonies, and the cruelties practised on the natives; this to the African slave trade, and that back again to the negro servant of the General, who 'declined the hazardous service' of shooting a wolf in his own den, afterwards performed by the hero. It is needless to pursue the illustration farther. We have in fact alluded to this difficulty, as one additional cause, why this most brilliant and lofty walk of the art has not been trod with more success.

Mr Mellen's Ode has the fault of being written to be spoken and not sung. The very irregular stanza, which is permitted to this species of production, becomes unpleasant without the musical cadence, which cannot exist where the passage has not been written with an accompaniment. This it is, in the lighter style of song writing, which has given Moore one of the most exquisite charms of his songs, a delightful privilege of possessing the two talents, 'the words, the harper's skill at once.' And by the usual compensation of all natural gifts, it is this which makes his long poems, whole operas without the music, dull forced marches without flute or bugle. This Ode, also, for we will close this unpleasant duty at once, has the error of attempting to render each passage equally brilliant in execution, whatever is the character of the sentiment expressed. Like the glowing pictures of David, the great French artist, the effect of many modern poems is bright and romantic, but not lasting. There has been, and is, so much fine talent in these later ages enlisted in literature, that the writer, especially a student, despairs of success but from efforts, which have a dangerous tendency to produce an unnatural effect. The young artists at Rome, of the most delicate taste, are said to wander among its matchless works, with desponding admiration, and pass by afraid to deviate from what they cannot equal, and will not imitate. This perfectly natural sentiment is not confined to one of the fine arts, but pervades the age of improvement, when that of invention has passed. The young poet reads his master

in the painful delight with which the artist views his model. Some sacrifice their original conception, which might have been striking or grand, to the perfection of execution, well knowing that without great skill in the forms of poetic expression, no strength or tenderness can be pleasing, but forgetting that this facility of art comes not from *study for that effect*, but from habit unconsciously acquired, while the attention was better employed.

This mistake is trifling, compared with another, from which Mr Mellen is free, that of those writers, who suppose originality also is to be acquired by study, and who make the absurd attempt to say in a manner no one else would have said, what no one else would have thought. This folly is abundantly exemplified in the works of some of our writers. Any man, who chooses so idly to expose himself, may throw together ideas, epithets, and illustrations, in a connection which is new, as any one can cast together a hundred letters of the alphabet in a combination, which was probably never seen, and the exploits are equally honorable. What is it to the world, that an author has hit on a combination of thoughts he considers new? The reader has no interest in the poet, or his discoveries; but that which he can create by his strength or beauty, and it belongs to the worst delusion, to make the public a party in this way to our own fanciful egotism.

Mr Mellen's Ode opens with a highly poetical description of the appearance of both armies. The following is an animated and brilliant passage.

'The patriot blades are out—uplifted high,
Their pennons on the blue
Broadly unfold their thousand stars,
To Telegraph the band
To Death, or Victory!
While on their foe's astonished view,
Appear *our banner's flaming bars*,
As though to guard the Eden of the land!
How idle is ambition now—
Ambition grasping at the air—
The war-storm scowling o'er its brow
Upon a world so young and fair!
What though ye doom to sword and fire,
The feasts of Desolation;
The *Spirit* still survives the pyre,
That blazing on through son and sire,
Will yet illume the nation.

. . . . . .

Now deeper roll the maddening drums,
And the mingling host like ocean heaves;
While from the midst a horrid wailing comes,
And high above the fight the lonely bugle grieves!
Woe to the reddening spirits now,
That war for slavery and crowns—
For chains and jewelry!

For FREEDOM's withering frowns
Look night upon them, while her brow,
Forth issuing from her stormy hair,
Beams like a beacon through a rended sky,
On giant arms and bosoms bare!'

There follows a stanza descriptive of the firing of the town, which is perhaps subject to the objection we have alluded to above, of being overwrought. The requiem to Warren is very beautiful, without any of the faults of Mr Mellen's manner.

'But ah! along that trembling steep,
The sorrow of stern hearts is swelling;
The patriot band! they weep—they weep
A hero to his dwelling.
WARREN hath past to his eternal sleep
In honor's shroud;
And as the faithful cluster round
His hallow'd clay,
Forgotten are the battle sound—
Insulted hopes—invaded homes—
The desolated temple's falling domes—
Until the big collected grief gives way,
And pale Columbia's genius weeps aloud.
Oh! England, if there ever came
O'er thee the blush of generous shame;
If through some dim but coming year,
When musing upon days like these,
Thy glowing memory linger here,
'Twill redden all thy island seas!'

The poem is concluded by a few stanzas, full of the generous and noble sentiments, which the occasion of erecting that monument with those auspices must inspire, among which our departed guest, the delight of Liberty, is not forgotten.

2.—*A Discourse delivered before the Society for the Commemoration of the Landing of William Penn, on the 24th of October*, 1825. By C. J. INGERSOLL. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 36. R. H. Small.

IT is no wonder, that the memory of Penn should be cherished with deep reverence in the state which bears his name, and in the city founded by his enterprise and wisdom. His, indeed, is a name dear to America, and honorable to the best principles of human nature. The records of his deeds in this country adorn the fairest pages of American history, and his first interviews with the natives, on the banks of the Delaware, are among the very few events of the kind, in our early annals, on which the imagination loves to dwell. The first settlers generally lacked discretion and modera-

tion, almost as much as they abounded in zeal and enterprise. The colonists in Virginia brought arms and warlike preparations, and soon made an enemy where they did not find one; and the pilgrims of New England landed with muskets on their shoulders, and presented themselves in the attitude of war, to the first body of natives they encountered. Penn came with the olive branch of peace; he met the rude sons of the forest as men, having the passions of men, and spoke to them in the accents of humanity and justice. It was a language, which they understood, and its influence was effectual; it tamed the fierce spirit of war, paved the way for an amicable treaty, and procured the unbounded and lasting respect of the Indians, for the founder of the colony of Pennsylvania.

Near the beginning of his discourse, Mr Ingersoll has inserted in a note a curious extract from Penn's writings, which explains the origin of the name given to his colony. The passage is contained in a letter, dated January 5, 1681. 'This day,' says Penn, 'after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes, in Council, my country was confirmed to me under the Great Seal of England; with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania—a name the King would give it in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being a hilly country; and when the Secretary, a Welchman, refused to call it New Wales, I proposed Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; though I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out. He said 'twas past, and he would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under Secretary to vary the name; for I feared it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King to my father, as it really was. Thou may'st communicate my grant to Friends, and expect shortly my proposals. 'Tis a dear and just thing, and my God, that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first.' This pledge was not forgotten; he spent some time in this country, and spared no exertions to establish such a system of government, and put such laws in operation, as he believed would be best adapted to ensure the prosperity of the colony.

In commemorating the landing of William Penn, it was thought by Mr Ingersoll, that he could not render a more grateful tribute to his memory, than to enumerate some of the remarkable features in the growth of Philadelphia. The increase, and the present flourishing condition of that city, are most gratifying mementos of the labors and foresight of its great founder. Mr Ingersoll has given us a highly graphic picture of the progress of Philadelphia in arts, commerce, manufactures, internal police, wealth, refinement, literary, scientific, and benevolent institutions, and in whatever contributes to advance the numbers, prosperity, and happiness of a

people. His delineations are those of a close and thoughtful observer not only of events, but of the springs of social action, and the principles which regulate the economy of life. We have not space to dwell on particulars, and must content ourselves with the following extract, which is clothed in a style, and expresses sentiments, peculiarly characteristic of the author.

'In the crucible of liberty, all the languages of Europe have been melted into one. In the temple of toleration, all religions have been sanctified. The forests of a continent have been weeded with sturdy hands, till its wilds have become the ways of pleasantness, and the paths of peace. With stout hearts and apt genius, the ocean has been tamed till it is part of the domain.

'Plenty empties her full horn into the lap of tranquillity. Commerce fetches riches from every latitude. The earth and mountains are quick with inexhaustible productions. Domestic industry contributes its infinite creations. Poetry, history, architecture, sculpture, painting, and music, daily add their memorials. Yet these are as nothing. *Vix ea nostra voco*—enjoyments scarcely acknowledged—all local advantages would be disregarded, if they were not recommended by the religious, social, and political principles we enjoy with them.

'Let us cultivate, and vindicate, and perpetuate this country, not only by the power and sympathies of heroic exploits, but by the nobler attractions of all the arts of peace. Ours is the country of principles, not place; where the domestic virtues reign, in union with the rights of man; where intense patriotism is the natural offspring of those virtues and rights; where love of country is a triple tie, to birthplace, to state, and to union, spun in the magic woof that binds calculation to instinct. Aloof, erect, unmeddling, undaunted, it neither envies nor fears, while justly estimating, the splendid and imposing ascendency of the continent it sprung from. It sends on every gale to Europe the voice, not of defiance or hostility, but of an independent hemisphere of freemen. It sends to Asia the riches of commerce, and the Gospel with healing on its wings. It sends to Africa the banner spangled with stars, to awe the tyrant and protect the slave. It sends to all benighted quarters of the globe, the mild but divine radiance of an irresistable example. It invites the oppressed of all nations and degrees, from dethroned monarchs and banished princes, to fugitive peasants and destitute laborers, to come and rest within these borders.

'May the sciences and refinements which embellish and enlighten, the charities that endear, and the loyalty that ennobles, forever flourish here on the broad foundations of peace, liberty, and intelligence. And among increasing millions of educated, moral, and contented people, may the disciples of Penn, Franklin, and Washington, meet together in frequent and grateful concourse, to render

thanksgivings to the Almighty for the blessings we enjoy by his dispensation.' pp. 33—36.

On former occasions we have given our opinion of Mr Ingersoll's style of composition, and habits of thought. These are in many respects peculiar. His language is strong and pointed, disdaining ornament and studied elegance, loaded with no superfluous epithets, and attracting rather by the force of its expression and richness of facts, than by its embellishment or rhetoric. It inclines a little to the hyperbolical, particularly in descriptions, and the choice of words is not always consistent with good usage. In the present discourse we have, among other anomalies, *centrality*, and *pioneering;* and the author speaks of the water brought into Philadelphia, as '*vouchsafing* it from extensive conflagrations.' This looseness we are sorry to see in such a writer. Men of literary intelligence and attainments should be the last, to deviate from the established use of words; corruptions will creep in fast enough from other quarters; and this is one of the cases, in which the wise and the learned should keep far behind the multitude.

3.—*Annals of Portsmouth, comprising a Period of two hundred Years from the first Settlement of the Town; with Biographical Sketches of a few of the most respectable Inhabitants.* By Nathaniel Adams. Portsmouth. Published by the Author. 1825. 8vo. pp. 400.

The form of Annals is the most unpretending, but by no means the least useful or agreeable mode of writing history. Besides embracing a greater variety of facts, and finding a place for minute particulars, which would be necessarily passed over in a connected narrative, it has a more striking appearance of life and reality by uniting the great and the small, the grave and the gay, in the same chronological series. The historian, like the landscape painter, selects a few prominent objects, groups them together for effect, and places them in the foreground in a strong light; while the annalist presents us with drawings of individual plants and trees. We look to the one for the results of thought, and to the other for the materials of thinking.

The character and views of the first settlers of Portsmouth were materially different, from those of the founders of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies. They were men of business, sent out by Mason and his associates for the purposes of trade; and though they soon acquired a portion of the religious zeal of their neighbors, they were never thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Puritans. There is an amusing account of this difference given in page 94. 'A. D.

1691. A reverend divine preaching against the depravity of the times, said, "You have forsaken the pious habits of your forefathers, who left the ease and comfort which they possessed in their native land, and came to this howling wilderness to enjoy without molestation the exercise of their pure principles of religion." One of the congregation interrupted him—"Sir, you entirely mistake the matter; our ancestors did not come here on account of their religion, but *to fish and trade.*"'

Still, however, there are traces of the fathers of New England, which cannot be mistaken. '1662, September 25. At a town meeting, ordered that *a cage be made*, or some other means invented by the Selectmen, to punish *such as sleep*, or *take tobacco on the Lord's day* out of the meeting, in the time of the public exercise.'

'1671, July 24. The Selectmen agree with John Pickering to build a cage twelve feet square, with stocks within it, and a pillory on the top, a convenient space from the west end of the meeting house.'

The abomination of taking tobacco, however, seems not to have been checked by these vigorous measures, for the next year we find a vote of the town, which shows but a faint opposition to this crying sin. '1672, March 12. Voted that if any shall smoke tobacco *in the meeting house*, at any public meeting, he shall *pay a fine of five shillings* for the use of the town.'

While on this subject, we may remark the liberal allowance of tobacco, which was furnished to the colonists by the English proprietor. In the inventory of the goods and implements belonging to the plantation taken in July 1635, under the head of provisions, we find the following articles; 140 bushels of corn, 8 barrels oatmeal, 32 barrels meal, 15 barrels malt, 29 barrels peas, 153 candles, 610 lbs. sugar, 512 *lbs. tobacco*, 6 pipes wine, 170 gallons aqua vitæ, 2 chirurgeon's chests, all 'to be delivered to Henry Joselyn, Esq. by command of Captain John Mason.'

John Mason manifested in everything a most liberal spirit; and though his claim to the soil of New Hampshire involved him in endless controversies with the inhabitants, and rendered his name extremely odious for several generations, the time is not far distant when justice will be done to his memory. Mr Savage, in his recent edition of Winthrop's Journal, has proved conclusively, that the celebrated Indian deed to Wheelwright, which was supported as a valid title against the claim of the heirs and grantees of Mason, was a forgery; and Mr Adams, in his appendix, has preserved some original documents, which shew how little regard was paid to the property, or rights of the proprietor.

'Francis Small, of Piscattaway in New England, planter, aged sixtyfive years, maketh oath, [September 8, 1685,] that he hath lived in New England upwards of fifty years; that he very well

knew the plantations Captain Mason had caused to be made at Piscattaway, Strawberry Bank, and Newichewanock; and that there was a great stock at each of those plantations. And this deponent doth very well remember, that Captain Mason sent into this country eight Danes to build mills, to saw timber, and tend them, and to make pot-ashes; and that *the first sawmill and cornmill in New England was erected at Captain Mason's plantation at Newichewanock* upwards of fifty years.' 'That about forty years since, this deponent, with others, was employed by Captain Francis Norton, (who then lived at Captain Mason's house at Piscattaway, called the Great House,) to drive about one hundred head of cattle towards Boston, and the said Captain Norton did go with the cattle; that such cattle were then usually sold at five and twenty pounds the head, money of England. And the said Norton did settle himself at Charlestown, near Boston, and wholly left Captain Mason's plantation, upon which *the other servants shared the residue of the goods and stock among them*, which were left in that and the other plantations, and *possessed themselves of the houses and lands.* And this deponent doth verily believe, that from the cattle sent hither by Captain Mason, most of the cattle in the Provinces of New Hampshire and the Main have been raised.'

This statement is confirmed by the depositions of Nathaniel Boulter, and John Redman, given at the same time, who add 'that such cattle were commonly valued at five and twenty pounds the head, being very large beasts of a yellowish color, and said to be brought by Captain Mason from Denmark.'

There is a curious passage in the testimony of 'George Walton of Great Island, in the Province of New Hampshire, aged seventy years or thereabouts,' taken Dec. 18, 1685, before Waltar Barefoot, Deputy Governor, which sufficiently explains the true cause of the opposition to Mason and his family. After relating how Norton, Captain Mason's agent, had robbed him of one hundred head of cattle, he adds, 'that thereupon the rest of the stock, goods, and implements, belonging to Captain Mason's plantation, were made away by the said servants and others; and this deponent knows, that to the Great House at Piscattaway aforesaid, there were adjoining about one thousand acres of improved land, marsh, meadow, and planting grounds, which were *divided and parcelled out by the servants of Captain Mason*, and others, the select or prudential men, (of the town of Portsmouth,) as they were so called, who still enjoy the same, or their heirs and assigns * * * * and the said Great House by the means aforesaid came to decay and fell down, the ruins being yet to be seen, out of which several good farms are now made. And this deponent doth very well remember, that the said Captain Mason had made a great plantation at a place called Newichewanock, about sixteen miles from that of Piscattaway, which by the means

aforesaid was ruined, and *shared among several of the said Captain Mason's servants* and others. And this deponent doth further say, that to his particular knowledge, the servants sent over by Captain Mason, of which some are living, and those descended from them, which are many, have been and are *the most violent opposers of the now proprietor*, Robert Mason, Esq.'

It should be remembered, that at the time of this general 'sharing' of the Mason estate, Captain John Mason was dead, and his heirs were minors, residing in England. It is probable that the following singular fact had some connexion with these transactions.

'1652. This year the Selectmen examined the old town books; and *what was not approved was crossed out*, and what was approved was left to be recorded in a new book.'

But enough of this; in a few years we find a better spirit prevailing. In 1669 the inhabitants of Portsmouth subscribed sixty pounds a year for seven years, to contribute towards the erection of a new building in Harvard College; and in 1671 the first church was organised, under the care of the venerable and pious Joshua Moody.

Mr Adams has enriched his work with several biographical sketches, which must render it peculiarly interesting to the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and which are valuable to all, for the light they throw upon the manners and institutions of our country. We select the following as a fair specimen.

'1781. The honorable William Parker departed this life April 29th, aged seventyseven. He was born in this town in the year 1703, received the rudiments of his education in one of the public schools, and, at the age of fifteen, became an apprentice to his father, who was a tanner. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with that business, but relinquished it soon after he came of age, and was employed for several years as master of one of the public schools. In his leisure hours he pursued the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in the year 1732. When the commissioners met at Hampton, in 1737, to settle the line between this province and Massachusetts, they appointed him their clerk. He afterwards received a commission from Governor Belcher to be Register of Probate, and his knowledge of the law enabled him to discharge the duties of that office with great ability. He was also appointed Surrogate Judge of Admiralty; and was for many years the only Notary Public in the province. In August, 1771, he received a commission, appointing him one of the Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature for the province; which office he held until the commencement of the revolution.

'Judge Parker was esteemed a well read and accurate lawyer; but his studies were not confined to the law. He gave much of his attention to classical literature, and the belles lettres, in which he made great proficiency. In 1763, the corporation of Harvard Col-

lege conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts, and in their vote, they direct it to be expressly mentioned in his diploma [that it was given] '*pro meritis suis, although he never had a public education.*' In his diploma it is thus expressed, 'licet non Academiæ instructum, generosum, nihilominus in rebus literariis scil. classicis, philosophicis, etc. egregie eruditum.'

Of the famous Robert Metlin, or Macklin, as he is called by Belknap, who lived to the extraordinary age of one hundred and fifteen years, we find the following anecdote under the year 1787, at which time he was a baker in Portsmouth. 'He usually bought his flour in Boston, and always travelled thither on foot; he performed the journey in a day, the distance being then about sixtysix miles, made his purchases, put his flour on board a coaster, and returned home the next day. He was eighty years of age, the last time he performed this journey. At that time, this was thought an extraordinary day's journey for a horse. The stages required the greatest part of two days. Colonel Atkinson, with a strong horse in a very light sulky, once accomplished it in a day. He set out early in the morning, and before he reached Greenland, overtook Metlin, and inquired where he was bound. Metlin answered, to Boston. Atkinson asked if he ever expected to reach there; and drove on. Atkinson stopped at Greenland, and Metlin passed him; they alternately passed each other every stage on the road, and crossed Charlestown ferry in the same boat, before sunset.'

We have no room for any further extracts, except the following, which is valuable as a statistical document, and shows how little the price of corn and silver has varied in nearly a century and a half.

'1680. Taxes were commonly paid in lumber or provisions at stated prices, and whoever paid them in money was abated one third part. The prices for this year were as follows;

Merchantable white pine boards	£ 0	30	0	per m.
White oak pipe staves - - -	3	0	0	„ „
Red oak do. - - - - -	0	30	0	„ „
Red oak hhd. staves - - -	0	25	0	„ „
Indian corn - - - - -	0	3	0	„ bush.
Wheat - - - - - -	0	5	0	„ „
Malt - - - - - -	0	4	0	„ „
Silver - - - - - -	0	6	8	„ oz.'

4.—*A History of the United States, from their first Settlement as Colonies, to the close of the War with Great Britain, in* 1815. New York. C. Wiley. 12mo. pp. 336.

The highest literary enterprise, which now presents itself for the exercise of industry, talent, and learning in this country, is a his-

tory of the United States. It has been the fashion to doubt, whether the time had yet come, in which an impartial and well digested history could be executed. Such doubts we think should continue no longer. Time is required to bring facts to light, to soften down the rough aspect of events, and to create a medium through which the mind can look back with cool and tranquil judgment, divested of passion and unbiassed by partiality. For all these purposes time enough we conceive has elapsed; and all the essential materials may now be obtained, and all the advantages possessed, which ever can be, for a history of the first order down to a period, at least as late as the beginning of the present century. The person now living, who would undertake so arduous a work, can hardly be supposed to have his opinions, or his feelings, so much interested in the causes and results of the great political parties, which ran high thirty years ago, as to be subject to any undue influence on his judgment from either of these sources. And when you go back to the revolution, everything is fully ripe for the most finished history; and previously to that period we have all the valuable materials, which can be supposed to exist, even to the earliest twilight of our antiquity.

A thoroughly philosophical history is wanted, a history of man, his mind, opinions, social habitudes, and political devices, when thrown into states of society, unknown in former ages, and in the old countries. The events of American history are peculiar. Beginning with the origin of our colonial existence, and descending through all the gradations of our political progress, till the miracle of our present national government was accomplished, we behold a series of remarkable events, and a developement of the human character, for which we look in vain to the acts of any other people, whether recorded in ancient or modern story. The character of our ancestors was peculiar, they came here for peculiar motives, they formed associations on novel principles, and maintained them in a manner, and with a spirit, which no other people have done. The colonial history is full of interest, full of singularity; the part acted by the natives of the soil is an extraordinary scene in the drama. The movements, which led onward to the revolution, the events of that great crisis itself, and the consequences flowing from it, are all among the most dignified and fertile themes of history.

But it would be no easy task, with adequate powers and untiring industry, to compose such a history, as the past progress and present state of the country demand. A thorough acquaintance would be requisite, not only with English history, but with the general history of Europe at the time of the discovery of America and since. To trace the advancement of our political institutions, a complete knowledge of the republics of antiquity, and of succeeding ages, would be necessary, as well as a just estimate of the

characteristics and the influence of the principles of freedom, wherever they have made any impression. Then the mass of facts relating to our own country, of which the texture of the history is to be woven, is immense, and scattered over a wide and unexplored field. The works and documents, in which they are contained, have never been brought together or methodised; no individual has pushed his researches through them, nor even been so adventurous as to attempt a summary of their prominent parts. Till very recently such an undertaking would hardly have been in the power of any one. The works on American history could not be found within a practicable compass. This obstacle is at length happily removed. Since the famous Ebeling Library has been purchased and transferred to Harvard College, by the munificence of Mr Thorndike, and the Warden Library has been added, also as a donation, by Mr Eliot, it is believed that copies of nearly all the works, illustrating the history of North America, may now be found in the library of the College. If to these we add other books of this description in the Boston Athenæum, and the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, both of which are particularly rich in the treasures of American history, it is probable that no book of much value will be wanting, to complete a perfect list on this subject. Whoever would write a history of the United States, that will do honor to the country, as an able developement of its progress and resources, and delineation of its remarkable features, and as occupying an elevated niche in the temple of its literature, must necessarily have constant access to these collections. Let no man contemplate such a project, whose meridian years have been long numbered, nor flatter himself when he begins, that his declining sun will find him at the end of his wearisome task.

The little volume, whose title has called forth these remarks, comes upon us with no high pretensions; it is a simple narrative of facts, put together in a plain way, and intended for schools. For such a purpose it seems well suited, although it is a difficult thing to compress so much matter into so small a space, with a due attention to a just proportion of parts. The author's plan is, first to give a separate history of each of the old colonies; then in succession an account of the French war from 1756 to 1763; of the revolution, which secured our independence; the transactions of the old congress and the adoption of the constitution; the administrations of the different Presidents; and a detailed narrative of the events of the last war. All these things are accomplished in a duodecimo volume of three hundred and thirtysix pages. The mechanical divisions of the chapters are conveniently arranged, for the use of reading classes in schools. In short, as an epitome of the history of the United States, designed for young readers, we know not that a better work than this has appeared.

5.—*A Sermon, preached at St Philip's Church, August* 21, 1825. By Christopher E. Gadsden, *on the Occasion of the Decease of General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.* Charleston, S. C. 8vo. pp. 31. A. E. Miller.

Among the names, which are illustrious in the revolutionary and political annals of this country, that of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney holds a distinguished rank. This veteran in the cause of American independence and liberty, has died within the last year, leaving behind him a fame, which his cotemporaries have honored, and which posterity will cherish. Another light is extinguished, which shone brightly in the deep gloom, that hung at one time over our national destiny; another head is laid low, which was erect and firm amidst the perils, that exhibited an appalling aspect even to the wisest and the bravest. We can do no justice to this theme in the brief space, which at present is at our command, and shall merely add a few facts collected from Mr Gadsden's discourse.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was born in February, 1746. His father, Charles Pinckney, was a man of eminence, holding the office of Chief Justice, and being one of the King's Council. His mother was a daughter of George Lucas, Governor of the Island of Antigua, and it is recorded of her in Ramsay's History of South Carolina, that the culture of indigo was introduced into that province through her agency. The son was educated in England, first at Westminster, and then at Oxford. His law studies were pursued at the Temple in London, and he acquired military knowledge by his travels on the continent. 'As the strength of his mind rescued him from prejudice, so his virtuous principles prevented foreign attachments. He was an early, decided, and devoted promoter of the revolution, courting the scenes of difficulty and danger, and choosing to be the companion of Washington. The friendship of these illustrious individuals was never interrupted, and the younger enjoyed a series of marks of confidence, commencing with his appointment as *aid de camp*, greater than were bestowed upon any other man.' After the organisation of the government, General Pinckney was on two occasions invited to hold a place in the cabinet, once as Secretary of War, and once as Secretary of State. He was sent on a foreign mission of great importance, and 'it was as minister to France,' observes Mr Gadsden, 'that he is said to have uttered the sentiment so consistent with his high character; *Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute.*' The command of the army, which was given to St Clair, was previously offered to him in 1791. He received from President Adams the appointment of Major General of the army. In the Appendix is an interesting account of the part he took, in the South Carolina State Convention of 1778, particularly as an advocate for religious toleration and liberty.

Speaking of General Pinckney as a patriot of the first order, Mr Gadsden remarks;

'That the honored dead had this love of country, we know not from his professions, not so much from his services and sacrifices, great as they were, as from two incidents by which it was remarkably *tested.* [?] When war was declared against France, the second command, contrary to the reasonable expectations of many, was given not to General Pinckney, but to one who had been his junior in the army of the revolution. The third place in command was tendered to him, and he promptly accepted of it. His services were needed, and he would not withhold them. It may well be questioned, whether there was another man whose patriotism, in the conflict with self esteem and martial pride, could have thus memorably triumphed. The other instance occurred in the last war, when, differing from some with whom he had long concurred in political sentiment, who were perhaps incapable of a like magnanimity, he recommended his friends, who consulted him, to accept of military appointments, and declared, notwithstanding his advanced age, that he was prepared to do his part in the conflict. It would be aside from our purpose to shew that such a declaration, from such a man, at such a crisis, was invaluable. It belongs to history to calculate the amount of his claim, accumulated through a long life, on the public gratitude. But we must remark, that it beautifully harmonised with his whole conduct, and proved that the sentiment of which we are speaking was deeply rooted in his soul. Ambition has been called the infirmity of noble minds, and pride seems almost inseparable from elevated distinction. If he had these vices, it is gratifying to find them overcome, when the question was between them and the country.' pp. 12, 13.

Mr Gadsden has drawn an interesting portrait of the character of General Pinckney, in all its relations, both as it was displayed in the humbler walks of private life, and in the high places of public trust. A biographical work, comprising the acts of General Pinckney, and an account of the events in which he was engaged, would be an acquisition to American history highly to be prized; and it is hoped, that such a tribute to his memory, and such a gift to his country, will not be withheld.

6.—*Register of Debates in Congress, comprising the leading Debates and Incidents of the Second Session of the Eighteenth Congress; together with an Appendix, containing the most Important State Papers and Public Documents, to which the Session has given Birth; to which are added the Laws enacted during the Session, with a copious Index to the whole.* Volume I. Washington. Gales & Seaton. Large 8vo. pp. 504.

After examining this volume, the purposes of which are fully expressed in the title, the first reflection that occurs is, how the public has been so long contented without some work of a similar kind. As furnishing a history of the proceedings of Congress, and the transactions of the general government, both in the minuteness of detail and copiousness of facts, the editors' plan embraces everything, that is wanted. The materials are arranged in a natural order, and the method is throughout perspicuous. The body of the work is occupied with an abstract of the debates in Congress, each subject being introduced in chronological sequence, as it was taken up in the House of Representatives, or the Senate, and the debates are presented in the same order. This part of the volume thus becomes a record of the opinions of the members of Congress, and their reasons for these opinions, on all the important topics discussed during the session. The Appendix contains the Messages of the President, and the public documents accompanying them; the reports of the secretaries of the Departments; the reports of the Committees of Congress on subjects of importance; correspondence between public functionaries relating to our foreign and domestic concerns. Then come the laws passed during the session, and tables showing the state of our navigation and commerce. An Index serves as a key to the whole, and directs the inquirer immediately to any point he wishes to ascertain.

The great utility of such a work, not only to statesmen and politicians of all ranks, but to every general reader, is too obvious to need a single remark. The editors, in their preface, express apprehensions that the experiment is a hazardous one, but we doubt not these apprehensions will prove unfounded. It is a work of labor, expense, and trouble; we believe the demand will be such as to render a generous compensation for all these, if not immediately, at least within a short time. The value of such a book will increase every year in a rapid ratio, and it will soon be found to be a necessary appendage to all public, and most private libraries. The editors suggest, that experience may enable them to introduce improvements. This is possible, though we see no room for dissatisfaction with the work in its present form and garb; and we confidently hope they will be encouraged to continue

an undertaking, so creditable to themselves, and so eminently useful to the country.

It would be a great thing, if the hint should be taken from this beginning, to extend the plan to the state legislatures. A work, which should embrace the annual messages of the governors in the different states, and some of the most important documents accompanying them, and also an abstract of the proceedings of the legislatures on those subjects, which are calculated to have a permanent effect on the institutions of any state, or which have a national bearing, such a work, in connexion with Gales and Seaton's Debates, would constitute as perfect a historical register of passing events, as could be desired. The whole might be compassed in two volumes, not exceeding in dimensions the volume of debates. Such a work, moreover, would tend to give solidity to the government, by diffusing political information, and inducing a uniformity of action in the different legislatures. It would be a record of the opinions, and a repository of the wisdom, of our statesmen in every part of the Union, and the light elicited by each would serve to illuminate and guide all the others.

7.—*A Lecture delivered at the Opening of the Medical Department of the Columbian College, in the District of Columbia; March* 30, 1825. By Thomas Sewall, M. D. Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. Washington City. 8vo. pp. 80.

By an admirable union of industry and good judgment, Dr Sewall has contrived to condense into a single discourse, an abstract of the history of the medical science, and a complete body of the medical statistics, of the United States. We know not where so large a mass of curious and instructive facts, on any one subject, can be found within the same compass, as is here collected, on the progress of medicine in this country. The lecturer begins by showing, that almost nothing was done, in the way of medical improvement, during the first century and a half after the landing of the original settlers. For many years, it was customary for clergymen to perform the office of physicians, and regular and well directed modes of practice gained ground very slowly in the colonies. The causes of this slow advancement of the science are briefly, but satisfactorily explained by Dr Sewall. In addition to the unfavorable circumstances attending new settlements, the period would appear to have been one, in which medicine was at a low ebb, and nearly at a stand, throughout Europe.

The first medical school in this country was founded at Philadelphia, in the year 1765. From that time the science began to advance with rapidity, and many eminent men have been found in ranks of the profession, who have sustained its dignity, and contributed to its improvement. The schools of New York, Harvard College, Dartmouth College, and of Maryland, were successively established, the last in 1807. Since that date, there have been twelve other medical schools instituted in different parts of the United States, all of which are now in successful operation. 'One hundred and fiftyeight years of our history elapsed,' says Dr Sewall, 'after the first settlement of America, before a single medical school existed in the country. In the fortyseven years that followed, five medical schools were founded, and in the twelve succeeding years, which period completes our history, no less than twelve have been added to the number. Sixty years ago, when but one school existed in the country, only ten students enjoyed the benefit of medical lectures. Twelve years afterwards, when only five schools were established, not more than five hundred students attended lectures; while the sixteen medical schools now existing impart instruction to nearly two thousand pupils.' Besides these schools, there are in the different states twenty Medical Societies, incorporated by the legislatures, and embracing a large proportion of the most respectable physicians in the Union. These societies are 'formed for the regulation of the practice of physic, and the suppression of quackery,' and their tendency is to produce a good understanding and harmony among the members of the profession.

The *Notes* to Dr Sewall's Lecture contain many interesting particulars, respecting the science of medicine in this country, and particularly biographical sketches of a large number of our most eminent physicians.

8.—*A Discourse delivered in the Chapel of Nassau Hall, before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New Jersey, at its first Annual Meeting, September* 27, 1825. By Samuel Miller, D. D. Princeton. 8vo. pp. 40. D. A. Borrenstein.

Few pens in this country have been more prolific in various branches of theology, than that of Dr Miller; but his labors have not been confined to that department. His *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* is a work, which manifests deep research into the political, literary, and scientific history of that period, and though hastily composed, considering its magnitude and the immense variety of its topics, yet it contains a body of facts and

reflections highly useful, as illustrating the progress of the human mind during the eighteenth century. We know not any single work, which exhibits the picture within the same space, or more likely to produce a just impression, as to the comparative advancement of the various kinds of knowledge and invention. In the first volume of the *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year* 1809, there is also a dissertation by Dr Miller, on the first discovery of New York, containing a full account of Verrazzano's voyage.

And we now have before us another effort of his to promote the cause of literature and science. An association has recently been formed, with the name of 'The Literary and Philosophical Society of New Jersey,' and it was in celebration of the first anniversary of this Society, that the present discourse was pronounced. The author takes a broad range, going back to the time of Plato, and showing the great advantages then resulting from the associations of learned men, in the Academies and Porches of Greece. He comes next to the origin of literary and scientific societies in modern Europe, speaks of their wide influence, and represents them as having been important instruments of intellectual improvement. A brief history of the few societies of this sort, which have arisen in our country, brings him to the New Jersey Society just founded, and a statement of its objects and duties. These are neither few nor trivial. They extend to all the main subjects of historical, philosophical, and physical research, as well as to exertions more peculiarly literary; and their weight and value are well explained by the author. He opens fields for inquiry, which allows ample room for action to the most enthusiastic members of the Society, however various their talents, or ardent their zeal, or intense their thirst for knowledge.

9.—*Gramática Completa de la Lengua Inglesa, para Uso de los Españoles.* Por Stephen M' L. Staples, A. M. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 12mo. pp. 276.

A great merit of this Grammar is the accuracy, with which the idioms of the English and Spanish languages are compared, through all their grammatical forms. Its particular object is to teach the English language to Spaniards, but it may be consulted with much advantage by students of the Spanish. The author takes special pains to exhibit the powers of the letters of the alphabet, as they are expressed in the two languages, and with no little success. His fault is a tendency to too much refinement, and an attempt to designate sounds, which can only be communicated by the living voice. It is possible, however, that the defect of stop-

ping short of the point, to which he has gone, would be as great a fault. The subject is not an easy one to manage, and will be differently regarded according to the ear and judgment of every individual.

The parallel view, which Mr Staples takes of the parts of speech in the two languages, is skilful and satisfactory. His rules are explicit; in some parts too numerous, but commonly definite and pertinent. His notes, which are written in English, are judicious; brief in matter and pointed in manner. The chapter *De los Idiomas* is remarkably full, and it would not be easy to find a more complete list of the idiomatic uses of English verbs and prepositions. These are all explained by parallel Spanish phrases. The author states a broad position, when he says, in his preface, that 'the English surpasses all other languages in the regularity and multiplicity of its significant initials and terminations.' We will not stop to contest the point, but we distrust its accuracy. In short, we deem it essentially incorrect, and presume our opinion to be sufficiently supported, by citing the Greek, or even the Hebrew, if the author means by 'significant initials and terminations,' what are commonly understood by prefixes, and suffixes, either in the character of indeclinable particles, or declinable pronouns. That the English has fewer roots, and a greater number of compound derivative words, than any other language, is a new doctrine in philology.

10.—*Adam's Latin Grammar, with some Improvements, and the following Additions; Rules for the right Pronunciation of the Latin Language; a Metrical Key to the Odes of Horace; a List of Latin Authors arranged according to the different Ages of Roman Literature; Tables, showing the Value of the various Coins, Weights, and Measures, used among the Romans.* By Benjamin A. Gould. Master of the Public Latin School in Boston. 12mo. pp. 284. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co. 1825.

The experience of successful and eminent instructers can best determine the merit of a grammar, designed to be a Manual in schools. In the common opinion, Adam's Grammar has well answered its end. If any other is preferred, we are not aware that it can either communicate much more, which is wanted, or even desirable, in a school book; or present, on the whole, a more convenient arrangement, in the parts of it which are to be committed to memory, or in those which are useful for occasional reference.

The present edition has appeared under more favorable auspices, than the majority of our manuals has enjoyed. It is a singular good fortune to secure for such a work, the supervision of an experienced teacher, and an exact scholar, to see each little syllable, with its marks of quantity and accent all entire, safely through the perils of the press. The edition, as it might be expected, has the merit of being uncommonly accurate, and the form of the printing, both for neatness and convenience, is not to escape without commendation, because it makes humble pretensions. For, in truth, many school books, and almost every Greek or Latin author reprinted here until within a very few years, literally abound with errors of the press; so that often pupil, and teacher too, have given the name of a beautiful anomaly (*curious felicity* indeed!) to some printer's blunder. As to points, accents, and the like, they seem to have fallen out of the text as promiscuously, as travellers from Mahomet's bridge; and sometimes they come into it, like uninvited guests at a supper; more worthy, than they among the ancients, of the name of *umbræ*, for the shadow which they cast on the meaning.

But this edition, besides the merit of being printed with great fidelity and exactness, furnishes rules for pronouncing Latin, similar, in general, to those which have been used at Harvard University for two or three years. The basis of these is Analogy, as explained by Walker, in his Key to the pronunciation of proper names. The want most sensibly felt was, of some rule for determining the sounds to be given to the vowels. Walker resolved to make the analogy of his own language his guide in these. He left, however, two points unsettled. One of these was the sound of *es* and *os*, when final syllables. A custom had grown up so commonly of giving these terminations the long sound, (that of *ese* and *ose* pronounced in one syllable,) that the ear recoiled from any innovation. In the rule for the sound of the vowel, (p. 244,) Mr Gould makes an exception of 'plurals' in *os* to a general rule, that if a monosyllable end in a consonant, the vowel has the *short* sound; and he instances in *nos* and *hos*. But if there were reason to make this exception, it should be so comprehensive, as to include also the termination *es*, both singular and plural. For *res* is as commonly pronounced *rese*, as *hos* is pronounced *hose*. Besides, what reason can there be for limiting the exception to plurals? Can there be a propriety in giving to the same termination two distinct sounds, and only to distinguish the number? Must *hos* and *nos* be pronounced differently from *os*, *cos*, and *mos*? This seems at least to be arbitrary.

But we are better pleased with making no exceptions to the rule, that the termination in every consonant has the vowel sound short. For, in the first place, it is universally admitted to be true

of every consonant but *s;* and of *s* too, with every vowel but *e* and *o;* (*mas, rem, rebus, honor, pennis,* are never pronounced *mase, reme,* &c.) and this is evidently the analogy of our language; and, secondly, it is as plainly not the analogy of our language to make the termination *es* and *os* long. Instances in monosyllables, are *mess, loss, moss,* in English. In a large proportion of words, *es,* the plural termination, forms one syllable with the singular, as in the word *mates.* In all other words, (Latin words of course excepted,) *es* has the *short* sound, as in *farces;* and more purely in *happiness, unless,* where the doubling of the *s* has no effect on the vowel sound.

How this custom, of giving the long sound to the vowels in the terminations *es* and *os,* thus opposing the analogy of the vernacular tongue, could have been so general, is a point for conjecture and argument only. It is no explanation, that the Greek primitives in *es* were often in η and ω, and therefore the adopted or derivative Latin word should preserve this sound, unless it is likewise reasonable, that the Latin derivative or adopted word should retain its short sound, when the Greek termination in *es* and *os* has ε and ο. For example; if *Adarces* must be pronounced Adarc*ese,* because the Greek (Ἀδάρκης) has *e* long (η); then *Dæmones* should be pronounced Dæmon*ess,* because the Greek (Δαίμονες) has *e* short (ε). But the fact is, that in both cases, the termination has been pronounced long. And Walker, against his great principle, analogy, has given it this sound, in his English Dictionary, in all Latin and Greek derivatives, without exception. Now it is sufficiently apparent, that to pronounce every final *es* and *os short,* can be no greater neglect of the original Greek terminations, than it is to pronounce them *long;* and, therefore, as we are left to decide the point by analogy alone, the preference of the short sound is natural and just; and the rule admits of no exception. For there is reason for refusing to make a distinction, to suit each various termination of the Greek. Besides its making the knowledge of another language essential to the pronouncing of the Latin, and besides its want of support or parallel in our own, it would impose no easy task on the memory of the best trained scholars; it would provide no rule for other words, not thus derived; and, what is still more worthy, we think, of observation, it would introduce two opposite ways of pronouncing the very same Greek vowel; as for instance, the η in *Semele,* in which the genitive, would be pronounced Semel*ese,* but in the accusative, Semel*en,* not Semel*ene.* Being left then to analogy, we confidently pronounce *timentes* like δδόντες; and feel as little remorse in the change, as in pronouncing *tibi* and *sibi* like *mihi,* and *lini,* and *cibi* (food,) and every other word of a similar kind, instead of making an exception in favor of those sounds, which custom has permitted

to intrude among the stately measures of a language, commonly esteemed to convey to the ear a sense of its dignity.

But both Walker and Adam have omitted, what, in a future edition, we recommend to the present editor to supply. On page third of the Grammar, the remark of Walker is repeated, that 'in dividing words into syllables we are chiefly to be directed by the ear.' But no answer is given to the question what directs the ear itself. The answer is obvious; the ear is directed to form a syllable by a determinate sound, which the analogy of our own language gives to every vowel so situated as it is in that syllable. Rules founded on this analogy, must first show the sound of the vowel to be either the *long* or the *short*. If this be done, the rule for the formation of syllables will be simple. When the sound is long, the vowel ends the syllable; when the sound is short, the consonant, next following, ends the syllable. On the accent, and its place, we find but one opinion. For scholars and grammarians have had reason to conclude, that the accent was determined by the quantity of the word, when it consisted of more than two separate vowels; that if the quantity of the penultimate vowel was long, it was accented, (Diomedes, Putsch, p. 426,) but if otherwise, the antepenultimate, (Diomedes gives a tribrachys in proof, *melius;*) that the first of only two separate vowels, (id. p. 427,) that is, in a dissyllable, whatever its quantity, is accented; and that these, whatever were the popular corruptions in speaking, were probably acknowledged to be the legitimate places for the accent in the age of Cicero. 'Apud Latinos duo tantum loca tenet [sc. accentus acutus] penultimum et antepenultimum.'*

The rule, therefore, is established; although undoubtedly, while a language is vernacular, the deviations from it must be frequent; from motives of convenience, (as, for example, two senses of the same word, with the same quantity, could be marked by a different accent, 'causa discretionis,' Diomed. p. 428, that is, for the sake of distinguishing the sense; see Zumpt's Grammar, p. 390,) or in consequence of the vulgar cant, which always soils, in some degree, the flow of a spoken language. But when that tongue is no longer in use, and the occasion for such deviations, for convenient intercourse with various classes of men, has passed away with themselves, we can recur to the plain principle which is definite, while the departures from it are not capable of being distinctly traced out.

We will dwell on the subject of Latin pronunciation only a moment longer. If any one aim at a degree of accuracy, beyond what these rules of analogy supply, he might as well aim his

* Diomed. Priscian almost copies him, pp. 1186, 1287—8. Donatus, p. 1739. Cledonius Victorinus, p. 1888. Beda, 2358.

arrow, with the Indian, to bring down one of the stars. Professor Zumpt, of Berlin, supports the necessity of a distinction in dissyllables, between the sound of *Roma* and *homo*, which is to indicate that in *Roma* the penultimate is long, and in *homo* it is short. 'We must endeavor' he says, (page 390, of Kenrick's Translation of his Grammar,) 'to give the first syllable [of dissyllables, he means, in which it has the short quantity] that percussion of the voice which constitutes the accent, without lengthening the vowel, or yet doubling the following consonant.' That is, the proper sound of *homo*, is neither *hom-mo*, nor *ho-mo*, but an unknown something between them! If one wishes to be satisfied of the futility of such an endeavor, we beg leave to refer him to a note of Perizonius, on Sanctius, (Minerva, p. 22, et seqq. Amst. 1714). He will be able to judge, with what wisdom a modern would strive to obey these teachers of uncertain sounds; where one tells us, that *suaveque*, (with the accent on *e*, on account of the enclitic,) is to be pronounced not *suavéque*, much less, *suavêque*, but something different from both; and a second, Vossius, (a great name,) thinks, that the ancients gave two primary accents to the antepenultimate and penultimate, in the words *exadversum* and *aliquando*, in opposition, however, to the authority of Cicero and Quintilian, who state that in every word there can only be one primary accent, (τόνος). It is not, however, to be denied, that some distinction of this kind may have existed; but the proper ground is, that it is now lost, unattainable, and needless. *Edo* and *esito*, (as the critic has cited from Gellius,) were distinguished by a sound of the former, which was neither the ε nor the η of the Greek. It was probably a provincialism. Those who employed it are in their graves. Let it lie buried with them, since they have neither told us *why* nor *how* we are to use it. But lest any presumption should be laid to the charge of the followers of Walker, in his view of the vowel sound and accent, we will add, for their solace, a passage from the critic now cited, who has a claim to be heard, if only because he was the pupil of that High Treasurer of literature, old Grævius. The following, then, are the words of Perizonius, on those distinctions of sound above described. 'Certe talia hæc sunt, quæ melius forsan ex continuo pronunciandi auditu et usu cognosci diu potuerunt, quam a nobis nunc ex grammaticorum præceptis percipi.' And respecting accent, his words are, 'illi [sc. Priscianus, etc.] omnem rationem accentûs seu toni in pronunciando retulerunt ad quantitatem syllabæ penultimæ. *Quod et antiquiores Romanos fecisse nullus dubito.*' Perizon. in Minerv. p. 25.

Mr Gould has furnished the rule of accent, in correspondence with what seems to us the only rational view of the subject. In general, too, it is with judgment, that the minor changes, and less

important additions, on which the editor has spent his diligence, have been made. It was desirable to omit that lumber, the English part of this Grammar, which no English scholar would be content with, and no Latin scholar could want. After a careful examination, we venture an opinion, that to every instructer it will appear the best edition of Adam, which can be obtained. The pupil, from the almost perfect accuracy of the quantity of each syllable, will escape the danger of needing, perhaps, a month's correction of an error, which has been forced on him by the printer's carelessness, after having formed his ear to it by frequent repetitions, in committing the word to memory.

It might be less useful than invidious to bring into a very close comparison, the more recent grammars of the Latin tongue. But a class of books have borne this name, which have affected great philosophical nicety in arranging the various sentences, with an eye much more to system, than to the age, power, and disposition of the pupil. We presume that the grammar of our own language (and probably that of the Greek,) has been neglected, in consequence of that air of abstraction, which too studiously accurate definitions, and general remote deductions from many particulars, have imparted to many elementary books. The language, too, of many of these, is apparently addressed to those whose minds are in some respects opened to metaphysical speculation. Some relics of this creep through the best of our manuals.

In Adam's Grammar a few defects yet remain. The use of some words is either obsolete, or only known to readers of metaphysics. Affections, for example, are one thing to a boy who loves his mother affectionately, and quite another to one who has just read Adam Smith, or Cogan on the Passions. It is true, that the meaning in our language is restricted, from that of the primitive. Whatever the mind did, no less than what it was affected by, was undoubtedly expressed, to a Roman ear, by the primitive.* But is any boy awake to this notion, when he repeats, 'Verbal adjectives, or such as signify an affection of the mind, govern the genitive?' And well may he pause in wonder to find *ignarus*, and *stupidus*, arranged among the words which signify affections.

The language of a book for boys should be simple and explicit. It will not answer to speak of words in *concord*, or under *government*, when common usage confines these words to different occasions. It is enough to say, that a verb is of the same person and number as its nominative, (to show a correspondence in two points;) that an adjective assumes a form corresponding to the gender, number, and case of the substantive which it qualifies; and

* *Afficio*, i. e. *ad* and *facio*. What the mind *does to* a thing, as well as what the thing *does to* or *makes for* the mind.

that two substantives meaning the same thing correspond in case. But fortunately, the good sense of most pupils, by means of studying examples, struggles through the darkness of rules, in which common words are used in uncommon senses. The exceptions to be made to the language of Adam's Grammar are the less important, as it is abounding in examples, which teach the syntax sometimes in despite of the rule.

A grammar for schools should be distributed in a simple order; and experience must determine each instructer for himself, which of several methods of arrangement is to be preferred. It has appeared to us, that, in some more recent Latin grammars, the nice care to preserve a scientific order has pleased scholars, who made no account of the difference, in the power of receiving pleasure or benefit from it, between boys and men. The arrangement in Adam is natural and perspicuous. And in one respect, decidedly, the grammar of Dr Adam has an advantage above every other within our knowledge. He has been uniformly faithful to an object, ever to be kept in view by the writer of grammars for schools, namely, to make the pupil familiar with established rules, and the no less established exceptions, in which all writers are alike; and a failure in making the *exception* is no less, than in transgressing the *rule*. In other grammars of merit, and especially in some by German authors,* the rule is either not exhibited distinct from the exceptions, the memory flies from rule to rule, and cannot alight; or else the exceptions, which make the very idiom of the language, are mingled with a crowd of those, which, if not ἅπαξ λεγόμενα of a single author, and which a new recension of manuscripts may exclude, are peculiar to only a few writers, and those not perhaps among the safest authorities.

But, while we thus prefer Adam's Grammar for an advantage of so much moment, we may be expected to admit, that others have traced infrequent idioms with a delicacy of critical *tact*, and collected them with a degree of industry, not found nor required in the grammars for schools. It is far from us to underrate the services which men, whose time has been spent in such inquiries, have rendered to the cause of letters. Grammar, in its wide sense, forms a branch of subtle philosophy.

* This fault has impaired the value of the grammar of Professor Zumpt; but Bröder's *Abridgment* of his own has some advantage over it, in point of clearness. It is the best of the smaller school grammars, which we have had an opportunity of seeing.

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The tour around the island of Hawaii, or Owhyhee, (the island on which Captain Cook was killed,) is of a highly interesting character It was performed by Messrs Ellis, Thurston, Stewart, Bishop, and Goodrich. 'The Journal was drawn up by Mr Ellis, from minutes kept by himself, and by his associates on the tour, who subsequently gave it their approbation.' These gentlemen enjoyed the best opportunity for observing the habits of the people, their modes of living, and moral condition, and also the physical structure, and the natural productions of the island. In all these respects the information contained in this Journal is novel, and will be highly gratifying both to the inquisitive and benevolent reader, who loves to contemplate the works of the Creator in all their variety, and to witness the efforts of philanthropic men for the improvement of the human race. In a future number we shall recur again to this 'Journal,' and speak more at large of its contents, and the curious topics they suggest.

AMERICAN EDITIONS OF FOREIGN WORKS.

The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness. By Rammohun Roy, of Calcutta. New York. B. Bates.

Universal Geography. By M. Malte-Brun. No. VII. 8vo. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

An Exposition of the Natural System of the Nerves of the Human Body. By Charles Bell. 8vo. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

William Tell; a Play in five acts, as performed at the Park Theatre. By James S. Knowles. New York. E. M. Murden.

The Christian Father's Present to his Children. By J. A. James. 2 vols. 18mo. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

Tremaine, or The Man of Refinement. 3 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. E. Littell.

The Elements of English Composition. By David Irving, LL. D. Second American Edition. 12mo. pp. 312. Georgetown, D. C. James Thomas.

The Works of the Rev. Richard Cecil, M. A. late Rector of Bisley, &c.; with a Memoir of his Life. Arranged and Revised,

with a View of the Author's Character; by Josiah Pratt. 3 vols. 12mo. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

Works of Maria Edgeworth. Vol. XII. containing 'Early Lessons.' 8vo. Boston. S. H. Parker.

A Theoretical and Practical Arithmetic, &c. Translated from the French, improved, and adapted to the Currency of the United States, by Noble Heath. Baltimore. S. S. Wood & Co.

Merivale's Chancery Reports. 3 vols. 8vo. New York. O. Halsted.

The Latin Reader. Part Second, chiefly from the fourth Edition of F. Jacobs, and F. W. Doering. 12mo. pp. 162. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.

Rhetorica de Valero. 1 vol. 18mo. New York. Behr & Kahl.

Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education. By Elizabeth Hamilton. In two volumes. Third American Edition. Boston. Samuel H. Parker. 12mo.

A Practical Treatise on Rail Roads and Carriages. Illustrated by four Engravings and numerous useful Tables. By Thomas Tredgold, Civil Engineer. New York. 8vo. pp. 183. E. Bliss & E. White.

Blair's Outlines of Chronology, Ancient and Modern, &c. Hartford. S. G. Goodrich.

A Sermon on the Lord's Supper. By Andrew Kippis. 12mo. pp. 31. Salem. J. R. Buffum.

The Story of a Life. By the Author of 'Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and Italy,' &c. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 452. Boston. Richardson & Lord.

The Tales of the Genii, translated from the Persian. By Sir Charles Morell, with Memoirs of the Author, 2 vols. 18mo. New York. D. Mallory.

Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis, &c. Written by herself. Vol. II. 8vo. New York. Wilder & Campbell.

Babylon the Great, a Dissection and Demonstration of Men and Things in the British Capital. By the Author of 'The Modern Athens.' 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

The Troubadour, Catalogue of Pictures and Historical Sketches, By L. E. L. Author of 'The Improvisatrice.' Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

The Life and Exploits of the ingenious Gentleman Don Quixotte de la Mancha, translated from the original Spanish of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. By Charles Jarvis, Esq. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author. 4 vols. 18mo. New York. Evert Duyckinck.

The Adventures of Telemachus, from the French of M. Fenelon. Translated by Dr. Hawkesworth. 2 vols. 18mo. New York. D. Mallory.

Practical Morality; or a Guide to Men and Manners, consisting of Lord Chesterfield's Advice to his Son, &c. 18mo. pp. 233. New York. George Long.

The Iliad of Homer. Translated by Alexander Pope. 2 vols. 18mo. New York. W. Borrodaile.

An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism. By James Beattie. 8vo. pp. 320. New York. G. & C. Carvill.

C. Cuspi Sallustii Opera, omissis Fragmentis, omnia; ad optimorum exemplarium fidem recensita. Animadversionibus illustravit P. Wilson, L. L. D. Litt. Græc. et Lat. etc. in Collegio Columbiano Neo-Eboracensi nuper Professor. Editio Quarta. Recensuit notasque suas adspersit Carolus Anthon, in eodem Collegio Litt. Græc. et Lat. Prof. Adj. 8vo. pp. 234. New York. G. & C. Carvill.

The Works of Virgil, translated by Dryden. 2 vols. 18mo. New York. W. Borrodaile.

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A General View of the Manners, Customs, and Curiosities of Nations, &c. By the Rev J. Goldsmith. Revised by the senior publisher. 2 vols. 12mo. New Haven. I. Babcock & Sons.

English Grammar, adapted to the different Classes of Learners. By Lindley Murray. 12mo. pp. 312. Bridgeport, Ct. J. B. Baldwin.

History of the Church of England, from the earliest Periods to the present time; being chiefly an Abridgment of Grant's. By the Rev Edward Rutledge, A. M. 8vo. pp. 820. Middletown, Ct.

Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Children. By Mrs Taylor. Boston. 18mo. pp. 144. James Loring.

English Synonymes, explained in Alphabetical Order, &c. By George Crabb. From the third London Edition, revised and corrected. 8vo. New York.

The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians. By C. Rollin. 2 vols. 4to. Boston. Samuel Walker.

Another Edition of the same work. 8 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. W. W. Woodward.

Another Edition. 4 vols. 8vo. New York. W. Borrodaile.

A Treatise on Derangements of the Liver, Internal Organs and Nervous System; Pathological and Therapeutical. By James

Johnson, M. D. First American from the second London edition. 8vo. pp. 221. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

Napoleon and the Grand Army in Russia; or a Critical Examination of Count Philip De Segur's Works. By General Gourgaud. Translated from the French by a gentleman of Philadelphia. 8vo. Philadelphia. A. Finley.

The Scottish Chiefs, a Romance. By Miss Jane Porter. 3 vols. 18mo. Exeter. Gerrish & Tyler.

C. Cornelli Taciti Historiarium Libri Quinque; cum Libro de Germania, et Vita Agricolæ, cum notis Barbou. 12mo. pp. 299. New York. S. King.

The Works of Flavius Josephus. Translated by William Whiston, A. M. 4 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia. W. W. Woodward.

An Abridgment of the History of England. By Dr Goldsmith. Continued to the Present Time, by several Gentlemen. Stereotype edition. 12mo. pp. 324. Boston. T. Bedlington.

Domestic Medicine, &c. By William Buchan, M. D. &c. To which is added a Family Herbal. A new edition, revised and amended. By John G. Coffin, M. D. 8vo. pp. 652. Boston. Phelps & Farnham and N. S. Simpkins.

The Poetical Works of James Montgomery. 4 vols. 18mo. Boston. T. Bedlington.

A History of the Christian Church. By the Rev William Gahen. Philadelphia. E. Cummiskey.

History of the Reformation, in four Cantos. By Thomas Ward, Esq. Philadelphia. E. Cummiskey.

Juliana Oakley, a Tale. By Mrs Sherwood. 18mo. pp. 90. Hartford. Oliver D. Cooke & Co.

View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion. By Soame Jenyns. Princeton, N. J.

Scougal's Life of God in the Soul of Man. Princeton, N. J.

Manual of Surgical Operations; containing the new Methods of Operating devised. By Lisfranc and Coster. The Translation and Notes, by John D. Godman, M. D. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

PERIODICAL WORKS.

The following list of periodical works is given, without presuming that it is in any degree perfect. In the theological and miscellaneous departments, in particular, it is unquestionably defective. It is such, however, as our means have enabled us to collect. A similar list will be occasionally inserted, and the only mode of insuring completeness will be for publishers to forward the titles and conditions of their works.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

American Journal of Science and Arts, conducted by Professor Silliman. 2 Nos. to a Volume, 2 vols. a year. $3, per volume. New Haven. S. Converse.

The Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts. Conducted by John W. Webster, M. D. and Daniel Treadwell. Every two months. $4 per Annum. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.

American Mechanic's Magazine. Conducted by Associated Mechanics. Weekly. $4 per Annum. New York. James V. Seaman.

Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Monthly.

MEDICINE.

The Medical Review, and Analectic Journal. Conducted by John Eberle, M. D. and George Mc Clellan, M. D. Quarterly. $5 per Annum. Philadelphia. A. Sherman.

The Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences. Edited by N. Chapman, M. D. Quarterly. $5 per Annum. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

The Medical Recorder. Conducted by Samuel Calhoun, M. D. $5 per Annum. Philadelphia. James Webster.

The New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery. Conducted by Walter Channing, M. D. and John Ware, M. D. Quarterly. $3 per Annum. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

The New York Medical and Physical Journal. Edited by John B. Beck, M. D. Daniel L. M. Peixotto, M. D. and John Bell, M. D. Quarterly. $4 per Annum. New York. E. Bliss and E. White.

The Carolina Journal of Medicine, Science, and Agriculture. Conducted by Thomas Y. Simmons, M. D. and William Mitchel, M. D. Quarterly. Charleston, S. C. Gray & Ellis.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The United States Literary Gazette. Semi-Monthly, $5 per Annum. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.

The Port Folio. Monthly. $6 per Annum. Philadelphia. H. Hall.

Boston Monthly Magazine. Edited by Samuel L. Knapp. Monthly. $4 per Annum. Boston.

New York Review, and Athenæum Magazine. Edited by William C. Bryant, and Henry Anderson. Monthly. $6 per Annum. New York. E. Bliss & E. White.

Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History. At irregular Periods. New York. E. Bliss & E. White.

The Garland, or, New General Repository of Fugitive Poetry. Edited by G. A. Gamage. Monthly. $4 per Ann. Auburn, N. Y.

African Repository and Colonial Journal. Monthly. $2 per Annum. Washington, D. C. Way & Gideon.

The Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal. Semi-annually. $1 per Annum. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

The Long Island Journal of Philosophy, and Cabinet of Variety. Conducted by Samuel Fleet. Monthly. $3,50 per Annum. Huntington, N. Y. H. Herskell.

Philadelphier Magazin fur Freunde der Deutschen Literatur in America. Monthly. Philadelphia. George Ritter.

The Mathematical Diary. Conducted by R. Adrain, L. L. D. &c. Quarterly. $1 per Annum. New York. James Ryan.

The Friend of Peace. Monthly. $1 per Annum. Cambridge. Hilliard & Metcalf.

Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal. Monthly. Worcester, Mass. Rogers & Griffin.

THEOLOGY.

Biblical Repertory, a Collection of Tracts in Biblical Literature. Edited by Charles Hodge. Quarterly. $4 per Annum. New York. G. & C. Carvill.

Christian Examiner and Theological Review. Every two Months. $2 per Annum. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.

Christian Spectator. Conducted by an Association of Gentlemen. Monthly. $3 per Annum. New Haven. S. Converse.

The Missionary Herald. Monthly. $1,50 per Annum. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

Gospel Advocate. Monthly. $2 per Annum. Boston.

The American Sunday School Magazine. Monthly. $1,50 per Annum. Philadelphia.

The Rational Bible-Reformer, and Unitarian Monitor. Monthly. $1 per Annum. Near West Union, Adams County. Ohio.

The Literary and Evangelical Magazine. Monthly. Richmond, Virginia. Nathan Pollard.

The American Baptist Magazine. Monthly. $1,50 per Annum. Boston. Lincoln & Edmands.

FOREIGN WORKS REPUBLISHED.

Edinburgh Review. $5 per Annum. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

Quarterly Review. $5 per Annum. Boston. Wells & Lilly.

The New Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal. Monthly. $6 per Annum. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.

The Museum of Foreign Literature and Science. Monthly. $6 per Annum. Philadelphia. E. Littell. Selected from Foreign Journals.

Athenæum, or, Spirit of the English Magazines. Semi-Monthly. $4 per Annum. Boston. John Cotton. Selected from Foreign Journals.

The Medico-Chirurgical Review, and Journal of Medical Science. Quarterly. $5 per Annum. New York. J. N. Seaman.

The Christian Observer. From the London Edition. Monthly. $4 per Annum. New York. S. Whiting.

Journal of Foreign Medical Science and Literature. Conducted by Samuel Emlin, Jun. M. D. Quarterly. $4 per Annum. Philadelphia. E. Littell.

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In many instances the number of volumes will be less than the English Editions, reducing the price to about *one third* of the cost of the English copies in this country.

This project deserves encouragement. A uniform edition of a Translation of the Classics is a desideratum in this country. The English editions are costly, and many works not easily to be obtained. The publishers have selected a few works with which to make the experiment. Could they be sure of success, it would doubtless be the best plan to publish the different classes of authors in connexion; that is, the Historians, Poets, Orators, Philosophers, &c. Such an attempt, perhaps, would have but a limited success, and in that case it will be more for the interest of the publishers to pursue their proposed course, and select the most popular authors. The exceedingly low price at which they offer the work is worthy of notice. Parker's handsome edition of the Waverley Novels is mentioned by the Publishers, as a specimen of the type and paper.

Carey & Lea, propose publishing by subscription in Philadelphia a New Work, to be entitled, American Biography, or Historical Dictionary of Eminent Americans. By Robert Walsh, Jr.

John Doggett & Co. Boston, have now in publication, Lithographic Portraits of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Adams.

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Also in Press, SKETCHES POLITICAL and HISTORICAL of ALGIERS; containing an Account of the Geography, Population, Government, Revenues, Commerce, Agriculture, Arts, Civil Institutions, Tribes, Manners, Languages, and Recent Political Events of that Country. By WILLIAM SHALER, American Consul General at Algiers.

A review of Mr Verplanck's 'Essay on the Doctrine of Contracts' came too late for the present number. It will appear in our next.

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" Looking upon this undertaking in that light, we shall find that it claims all the attention that is due to a *public concern ;* and though a few of the many who may have occasion to practise the excellent rules laid down by our author, may understand, nay be pleased with them in the original, yet their importance and usefulness must in a great degree be lost to the world, without the medium of a modern language.

" Learning therefore may be called the *auxiliary of good sense*, and all learning that has not this in view is a pursuit unworthy the *care*, and below the *attention* of *reason. Good sense* may subsist without *learning*, but then its aim is more uncertain, and its effects more irregular than when it has the assistance of the examples, the sentiments and the precepts of the greatest men of former ages."

For an account of the Authors and Works, *see Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.*

Editors of Newspapers and Periodical Works are requested to notice these *Proposals.*

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The spirit of inquiry, which has of late years extended to every thing connected with human improvement, has been directed with peculiar earnestness to the subject of education. In our own country, the basis of whose institutions is felt to be intelligence and virtue, this topick has been regarded as one of no ordinary interest, and has excited a zeal and an activity worthy of its importance. By judicious endeavours to adapt the character of instruction to the progressive requirements of the publick mind, much has been done to continue and accelerate the career of improvement. These very efforts, however, and this success, have produced the conviction that much remains to be done.

A periodical work, devoted exclusively to education, would seem likely to be of peculiar service at the present day, when an interest in this subject is so deeply and extensively felt. At no period have opportunity and disposition for the extensive interchange and diffusion of thought been so favourably combined. Science and literature have their respective publications, issuing at regular intervals from the press, and contributing incalculably to the dissemination of knowledge and of taste. But education—a subject of the highest practical importance to every school, every family, and every individual in the community—remains unprovided with one of those popular and useful vehicles of information. A minute detail of the advantages which may be expected to result from a periodical work, such as is now proposed, we think unnecessary. With the success of other

publications of the same class before us, we feel abundant encouragement to proceed in our undertaking.

A leading object of the JOURNAL will be to furnish *a record of facts*, embracing whatever information the most diligent inquiry can procure, regarding the past and present state of education, in the United States, and in foreign countries. An opportunity will thus be afforded for a fair comparison of the merits of various systems of instruction. The results of actual experiment will be presented; and the causes of failure, as well as of success, may thus be satisfactorily traced, and be made to suggest valuable improvements.

The conductors of the JOURNAL will make it their constant endeavour to aid in diffusing *enlarged and liberal views of education.* Nothing, it seems to us, has had more influence in retarding the progress of improvement in the science of instruction, than narrow and partial views of what education should be expected to produce. Intellectual attainments have been too exclusively the object of attention. It is too common a thing to consider a man well educated, if he has made a proper use of the common facilities for the acquisition of learning; though the result may have been obtained at the expense of his health, and with much neglect of that moral culture, which is the surest foundation of happiness. In many plans of education, which are in other respects excellent, the fact seems to have been overlooked that man possesses an animal, and a moral, as well as an intellectual constitution. Hence the total neglect of the requisite provisions for the development of the corporeal system, and the confirmation and improvement of health, the only foundation of mental as well as of bodily power. The moral department of education has too commonly been restricted to an occasional word of parental approbation or reproof; or, at the best, to efforts limited by the sphere of domestick life. The natural consequence of the restrictions thus unjustly laid on education, is, that we often find, in the

same individual, a learned head, but a debilitated body, and a neglected heart. Education should, we think, be regarded as the means of fitting man for the discharge of *all* his duties: it should produce vigorous and hardy bodies, trained to powerful action, and inured to privation and fatigue; hearts formed to all that is pure and noble in moral principle; and minds prepared for efficient exertion in whatever may be their department in the great business of accomplishing the purposes of human existence. Under these impressions, we shall give to *physical education* that proportion of our attention which seems due to its importance. *Moral education* we shall consider as embracing whatever tends to form the habits and stamp the character. The influence of *example*, in the sphere of daily intercourse, we regard as the most powerful instrument in the formation of moral habits. In no light do we contemplate the progress of education with more satisfaction, than when we view it as elevating and purifying the great body of the community, and thus affording, to the attentive and reflecting parent, the pleasing assurance, that his efforts with his children at home, will not be counteracted by contaminating example abroad. Particular attention will be paid to *domestick education*, or that which emanates from parental and family influence; nor shall we neglect *personal education*, or that which consists in the voluntary formation of individual character.

The subject of *female education* is one which we deem unspeakably important. We have no hesitation in expressing our conviction that it has not yet received the consideration which it merits. Whatever concerns the culture of the female mind, extends ultimately to the formation of all minds, at that early and susceptible period, when maternal influence is forming those impressions which eventually terminate in mental and moral habits. But the theme is too full of important and interesting topicks to admit of discussion in a prospectus. There is no department of our labours, from which we anticipate a higher grati-

fication, than our endeavours to aid the instruction of the female sex.

Our efforts shall be directed chiefly to *early and elementary education*, because it is, in our view, more important than that of any other period or department. At the same time, we shall not omit the higher branches of science and literature, nor the training preparatory to professional pursuits. In particular branches of instruction, we have no favourite theories to obtrude. To what is of old standing, we have no hostility arising merely from its being old. Novelty we shall always regard as an indifferent circumstance, rather than a recommendation. But explanatory, practical instruction, under whatever name it may appear, we shall be happy at all times to aid with our best exertions.

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